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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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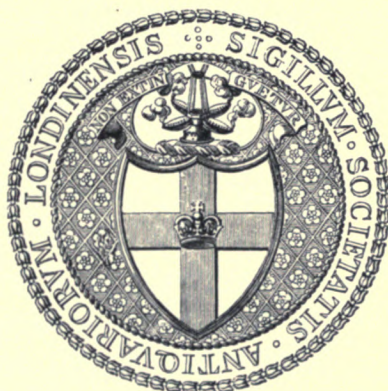
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NOTE.—Plates XXXIV.—XXXVII. have been presented by Edwin Freshfield,  
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Owing to an accidental transposition, Plates XXVIII. and XXIX. are erroneously paged 351 and  
352 respectively.

VIII.—*A Criticism of the Life of Rollo, as told by Dudo de St. Quentin.* By  
HENRY H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.

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Read January 29th, 1874.

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The survival of types is a recognised feature in the philosophy of geology. Long after their contemporaries have disappeared we find stray shells outliving catastrophe and change, and recalling the features of times which have passed away. Similarly we encounter in our historical inquiries, even if we choose for our guides the most patient and scrupulous of writers, errors that have survived a crushing exposure of many years' date. They linger about the sentences of fastidiously critical historians, the relics of an uneritical age, to the great delight of some simple-minded scholars, who for the first time in their lives discover the fallibility of their master.

Destructive criticism is not an amiable occupation. The methodical examination of an idol endeared to our recollection by much poetical tradition, and the calm application of the critic's scalpel to its surroundings, are not always easy to bear. It was undoubtedly a rude shock to many when Achilles and Brutus (the British Brutus I mean), Romulus, and William Tell, were severally tilted at by criticism, and reduced to very mythical characters. Many have suffered in the same way, others still survive. Among them perhaps Rollo, the founder of the ducal house of Normandy.

The story of Rollo depends mainly upon the testimony of the biographer and panegyrist of his grandson Richard the First, Dudo of St. Quentin. Dudo's narrative of the reign of Rollo was examined with great ingenuity and skill in the earlier half of the present century by M. Le Prevost, the annotator of Wace, and by M. Liequet, the historian of Normandy, and by each of these writers it was shown to be very unreliable and false. Notwithstanding this exposure, Sir Francis Palgrave, perhaps of all historians the one most thoroughly conversant with the details of European history from the ninth to the twelfth century, in his account of Rollo, follows the narrative of Dudo with little hesitation, and, *apropos*



of this very criticism, naïvely asserts that "unless we accept Dudon, such as he is, we must abandon the history of the first three Norman sovereigns." He accordingly does so accept him, and transfers the crooked details of the old canon of St. Quentin, in great profusion, to his own pages. Mr. Freeman, with much greater caution and sounder judgment, has not committed himself so far. Lastly, we have the able and recent editor of Dudo's history, M. Jules Lair, whose edition and commentary were published by the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy in 1865, after having been crowned by that valuable Society in 1858. In this last quoted work, which is very worthy of the Society, an attempt has been made to resuscitate Dudo's account of Rollo. Taking up the defence which had already been essayed by Depping, the author of "*Les Expéditions Maritimes des Normands*," this attempt, like preceding ones, is a failure, and the position of Le Prevost and Liequet still remains, in the main, intact. The question is an interesting one, and I propose to re-examine it, more especially as my results differ in some important particulars from those of previous critics.

*Primâ facie* we may allow with M. Lair that it does seem extraordinary that a writer who was specially commissioned by Rollo's grandson to write the history of the three first Dukes of Normandy, who had access to the sons of those who were Rollo's actual contemporaries and companions, should have failed so utterly in one portion of his narrative, and should have given us such a false and unsubstantial account. But a little consideration will partially explain this anomaly. In the first place he was a stranger to Normandy. "*Sed quod colonus non fui quondam tuns*" are his words in apostrophising Rouen and Normandy in general. The place of his birth is not known. It was, says M. Lair, in the county of Vermandois, and possibly at St. Quentin itself. We first meet with him in the service of Albert Count of Vermandois, performing the delicate functions of an envoy. Hugh Capet had made a raid upon Vermandois, and its count sent Dudo to ask assistance from Richard, the first duke of Normandy. He was well received, visited the several monasteries there, and was presented by Richard with two livings in the district of Caux. He himself tells us he was at the Norman Court "*more frequentativo*", during the two years preceding the death of Richard in 994-996. It was on this occasion Richard prevailed upon him, after some coy resistance, to write the history of the Norman dukes. He seems then to have revisited Vermandois, but returned to Normandy. In 1015 Richard the Second confirmed and altered the donation of his father. The advowson of his two livings was made over to the canons of St. Quentin, while he retained the income for life, and shortly after, when he published his work, he became

dean of the chapter. The date of his death is altogether uncertain. All we can say is that he was dead in 1043, when his successor in the deanery is mentioned. For these facts I am indebted to M. Lair's introduction, pages 18, 19, and 21. From them it is clear that Dudo was more of a guest than aught else at the Norman Court, a guest who was well treated, and returned his host's consideration with fulsome flattery, but after all only a guest. His history was published in Vermandois and dedicated to Adalbaron, archbishop of Laon. Again, Dudo was a priest, and, more than that, a Carlovingian priest, to whom Norsemen and Norse ways of looking at things were utterly alien. He was as conscious inwardly of the inferiority of this sea vermin as the Greeks ever were of the Barbarians. It was his method, if not actually his aim, to make Rollo a preux chevalier from the point of view of a Carlovingian annalist. He would have been at a loss, even if it had been his intention, how to describe the rough and briny manners of his hero as he was in the flesh, nor would such manners have sounded well when described in the measured turgidity which he affected. Again, it may well be that the Christian dukes, who we know had the zeal of converts, were anything but proud of their heathen ancestry, that their intercourse with the chivalry of France made them fastidious in such matters, and that they willingly drew a veil across them. It is equally probable that the sons of the old invaders, who chiefly dwelt in the Bessin and the Cotentin, still preserved much of their old faith and their old language; that they were not partial to monks and priests, and reserved their Sagas for their firesides, and were reticent about them; or it may further be that Dudo did not deem it worth while to make such inquiries. In the fashion of his age, he preferred to turn to the annals of the monasteries and copy them out rather than make a venture of his own among the traditions still living around him. Whatever the cause, the result is very certain. He does not seem to have picked up any independent evidence about Rollo, but to have copied and altered the statements in the greater monastic annals, those of St. Bertin and St. Vedast, of Fulda and of Rheims, in the last of which were the chronicles of Frodoard and Richer. But, if so, how comes it that his story is pronounced to be false? Here it is that I differ from other critics. I believe that the old canon invented very little; that he tells us little that is actually false; only that he has transferred the doings of other men to Rollo. Where the annals say Godfred or Sigfred, he retains the exploit, but assigns it boldly to his hero. M. Licquet and others have partially seen this, but I believe it to be a general failing of his. This is more satisfactory, for, although we curtail thereby the deeds and prowess of Rollo, ours is not absolutely



destructive criticism, and we reassign to others what we take from him. The person whose doings have been chiefly thus pirated is Godfred or Guthred, a renowned Danish chieftain, and a much more important individual in his own lifetime than our historians seem to be aware. But this is another matter, and we must proceed to our criticism. The biography of Rollo is contained in the second book of Dudo's work, the first being occupied with an account of the pirate Hasting, &c. He commences his account by deriving Rollo from Dacia. M. Lair would make out that Dudo here employs Dacia as a generic term for Scandinavia, and that it is not, as some critics have urged, a synonym for Denmark (*vide* introduction op. cit. 50, note). But he overlooks the fact that Dudo uses Dacia in opposition to Scanzia, *i.e.* Scania, and makes his hero when he leaves his house in Dacia go across the sea to Scanzia (book 2, pars. 4 and 5). He also has the words "Igitur Daci nuncupantur a suis Danai, vel Dani" (book 1, par. 3). This shows that the old writers were not mistaken in understanding by Dacia the peninsula of Denmark. Now, if one fact about Rollo is more clear than another, it is that he had nothing to do with Denmark and that he was a Norwegian. Not only is this the Norse account as preserved by Snorro in the *Heimskringla*, but it was, according to the best evidence we have, the tradition among the Norman dukes themselves. In the Laws of King Edward the Confessor, which it is well known were put together in their present shape after the Conquest, occurs the following paragraph:—"Proferebat quod antecessores ejus et omnium baronum fere Normannorum, Norvegienses exstitissent, et quod de Norveia olim venissent. Et hac auctoritate leges eorum, cum profundiores et honestiores omnibus aliis essent, præcæteris regni sui legibus asserebat se debere sequi et observare."\*

Dudo goes on to say that Rollo was the son of a distinguished man in Dacia, whose name he does not give, and says he had a younger brother called Gurim. Most people, even sceptical people, now allow, that, however the Sagas may fail in accuracy when describing foreign countries, or when exaggerating the exploits of some hero, their genealogy is generally trustworthy. They make Rollo, or Rolf as they call him, a son of Ragnvald earl of Møre, in Norway. They tell us he had two own brothers and three half-brothers, whom they name; but Gurim is not one of these. Gurim is a corruption, in fact, of the Danish name Gurm, Guthrum, or Vurm. Now the Guthred whom we have already mentioned, curiously enough, had a brother Gorm or Vurm (*vide* Hincmar), and he was, of course, a Dane. Dudo proceeds to tell us that Rollo and his brother Gurim quarrelled and fought with the king of Dacia, that Gurim was killed, upon which

\* Houard, *Traité sur les Coutumes Anglo-Normandes*, vol. i. cited by Depping, page 514.

Rollo set sail for Scanzia with six ships. From Scanzia he proceeded to England, partially impelled by a dream which was interpreted to him by a Christian (*cuidam sapienti viro et Christicolæ*). I will not stop to criticise this queer estimate of a Norse pirate's modes of thought. "At this time," says Dudo, "there lived in England the most Christian King Alstelmus," and with him Rollo is made to have friendly relations. We need not say that no English king was called Alstelmus; for a long time it was thought that Alstelmus was a corruption of Athelstane, and that the great Athelstane was here meant. A closer criticism showed that for chronological reasons this could not be; it was then ingeniously suggested that the name stands for Guthrum Athelstane, the Danish rival and protégé of Alfred. This seems to me a very forced and improbable explanation, and, besides, Dudo assigns this intercourse to the period preceding Rollo's alleged landing in France in 876, while Guthrum was only converted and christened Athelstane in 880. This seems to dispose effectually of the theory. I believe, with the author of the *Histoire Ecclesiastique de Normandie*, Trigan (*M. Lair's Introduction*, 53, note), that Alstelmus is a corruption of Alfred, and not of Athelstane, and this is considerably confirmed by the fact that in Brompton, who wrote in the thirteenth century, and who borrowed the story probably from Dudo, the name is Alfred, and not Alstelmus. The story, then, resolves itself into this: that Rollo landed in England, and had relations with Alfred the Great; yet it is strange that we search the contemporary annals in vain for any mention of such intercourse, strange also, as Trigan says, that a Christian prince like Alfred should have given aid to pagans in ravaging a Christian land. The only English writers who mention this intercourse, says *M. Licquet*, are John Wallingford and Walsingham, and they doubtless took their account either from Dudo or from one of his Norman copyists. But is the story entirely false? By no means. England was then tormented and harassed by the northern pirates, but these were Danes, and among them the most prominent were a Guthred or Godfred, who shortly after became Earl of Northumberland, and Guthrum, the great opponent of Alfred. Here, then, is the explanation. Once more we have the exploits of a Guthred, or of a Guthrum, assigned to Rollo. On leaving England Rollo, according to Dudo, sailed to the country of the Walgri, *i. e.*, Walcheren. Here he is made to enter into a sustained struggle with Ragner Longi Collis, count of Hainault, and Radbod, Duke of the Frisians. The name of Ragner Longi Collis, which is well known in the annals of this period, has been found in a document dated as early as 877, and a Radbod "comes in Lake et Ysella," occurs in the year 875 (*M. Lair's Introduction*, 55). This, *pro tanto*, supports Dudo's account; yet it is strange that the chroniclers of the



period, Hinemar, Reginon, and Frodoard, who describe in some detail the ravages of the pirates on the Frisian coast, should not have a word about Rollo's exploits there. To judge from Dudo's narrative, they were very important—he ravaged the country far and wide, defeated the two chiefs, taking him with the long neck prisoner, and, forsooth, refusing to release him unless he accepted Christianity. Not a bad example for a Norse chief fresh from the worship of Odin. When we say that Hinemar, Reginon, and the rest do not name Rollo in Frisia, we do not mean that they do not mention the ravages of the pirates there. They mention them frequently, and in detail, but they were Danes, and their leaders were the two companions, Godfred and Sigfred, the same Godfred or Guthred, as we believe, that has already been mentioned, and who again has been robbed of his laurels, such as they are, to enrich the fame of Rollo. From Frisia Dudo takes his hero to the Seine, where an incident occurs which I cannot describe better than in the ingenuous phrases of Sir Francis Palgrave (i. 517), "When he landed hard by the chapel of St. Vedast, and entered the deserted sanctuary, he reverently deposited before the altar the relics of St. Himeltruda, removed from a Belgian shrine." *Pace* Sir Francis, whom all lovers of our old history must reverence, and whom we reverence deeply, but this is too much for us. This was no pirate, this no Norseman. Hinemar must have overlooked one of the saints when he overlooked this event.

Dudo here ventures upon a date—a memorable date in most of the old histories—namely 876, when Rollo is said to have first occupied Rouen. "If Archbishop Hinemar," says Palgrave, "whose annals furnish the basis of French history during the period, had heard of Rollo—he hated the odious name—and to the last, among the Carolingians, the Normans were only known as pirates." The name of Rollo was surely not more hateful to Hinemar than that of Hasting, or Godfred, or Wurm, all of whom he specially names. His annals close in 885, so that we are here on ground quite familiar to him, yet he breathes not the name of Rollo. Nor is he mentioned in any contemporary annals of this period so far as I know, the well-known passages in "Asser's Life of Alfred" having been shown to be interpolations. (*Vide* Mon. Hist. Britt. 479 note, and M. le Prevost "Notes pour servir a l'Histoire de Normandie," 1st part, in the *Annuaire de Normandie*, i. 40, note 2, cited by M. Lair.) Dudo makes Rollo advance upon Rouen and there have an interview with its bishop, Franco; but, as has long been pointed out, Franco was not made bishop until the year 909, and it is clear, as M. Lair fully allows, that, if the incidents of the story are reliable, the date 876 is utterly inadmissible. I am disposed to question the whole account. Having concluded a truce with Franco the bishop, Dudo next

makes his hero encounter a French army commanded by Ragnold, Prince of all France, with whom was allied the pirate chief Alstignus or Hasting. M. Liequet has too hastily denied the existence of this Ragnold, and would treat the whole account as fabulous, but this is a mistake. Dudo's account is in fact an enlargement of that in the annals of St. Vedast, only that the date has been altered, some incidents added, and the name of Rollo introduced. The date in the annals of St. Vedast is 885, 886. Ragnold is called dux Cenomannius, or duke of Maine, and the campaign was a portion of that which was carried on to Paris; for the Danes, according to the annals already cited, having defeated their French opponents, advanced to besiege the capital on the Seine. There Dudo takes his *protégés* under the leadership of Rollo. The expedition against Paris in 885 is one of which the details are perfectly well known. Hincmar describes it, and so does Abbo, a monk of St. Germain des Prés, an actual witness of the siege. The leaders of it were Sigfred, the companion of Guthred, who had been recently murdered, and Hasting. None of the annalists of the time say a word about Rollo. If he had taken a merely subordinate part in the expedition such an oversight might have been pardonable; but according to Dudo he was the hero of it all. He defeated Ragnold, he took Rouen, he led the Danes to Paris. Dudo knows nothing of Sigfred; and Hasting only appears as an *ally* of the French,—Hasting, the terrible ravager of the Loire, who we know took an active part in the attack on Paris in alliance with the French against his own people,—immediately after the murder of Guthred, too! The whole account is distorted, and is another instance of the way in which Dudo has converted to the honour of Rollo deeds with which he had nothing to do. The credit of the Paris campaign has, in fact, been transferred from its real heroes and leaders, Sigfred and the rest, to Rollo, who had as yet not set foot in France. With Rollo's absence from the siege of Paris follows his absence from the minor glories of the campaign assigned to him by Dudo, the capture of Bayeux and Evreux, &c. &c. We know from the Annals of St. Vedast that in the autumn of 890 the Danes, apparently despairing of capturing Paris, marched into and pillaged the Cotentin and sacked St. Lo. This campaign would bring them near Bayeux, which probably suffered at the same time; but the leader of the Danish armies was Sigfred and not Rollo. If he was not at Bayeux, he did not there marry Popa, the daughter of Count Berenger; but the whole story of Popa bristles with contradictions. There was a Berenger, count of Rennes, who might have been at Bayeux; but, as we are expressly told that William Longsword was the nephew of Bernard of Senlis, this could only be by Popa being a daughter of a Berenger



count of Senlis. How did he come to be at Bayeux? How did he come to surrender his daughter to the then unconverted Norse chief to be married *danico more*? The name Popa is suspicious. Palgrave suggests that it is a playful nickname, meaning "the puppet"; but this is merely a very forced explanation. I believe the name and its owner are entirely mythical, invented probably to pair off with Sprota, the wife of William Longsword, who was an historical personage and a Breton. The Landmannabok of Iceland mentions a daughter of Rollo married to a Scotch chief in the Hebrides. This marriage doubtless took place during Rollo's stay in the Hebrides, which is mentioned in the Heims-kringla Saga. Rollo was therefore probably married before he reached Normandy. If, as I shall show presently, he did not set his foot there certainly before 911, and most probably before 921, and he was succeeded by William in 927, as we know from the contemporary annals, we may be sure that he was married *long before* he visited the Seine country, for it is not to be supposed that so turbulent a province as Normandy would in the tenth century be resigned by a skilled old warrior (Dudo contends it was *resigned*) to a boy of sixteen or a child of six. And we may be sure that both William and his sisters (for it may be that he had two) were born before the expedition to Normandy. So that from internal as well as external evidence the whole story of Popa falls to the ground, and we are left to the conclusion that the mother of William Longsword was a Norse woman and no victim of the sack of Bayeux.

In regard to the capture of Evreux, such a capture is indeed mentioned in the *Chronica S. Stephani Cadomensis* and in the *Chronicle of Rouen* (*vide* M. Lair's Introduction, page 60, note), but this is dated in 892, seven years after the campaign to Paris. The next exploit that Dudo assigns to Rollo, still during the siege of Paris, is an expedition to England, the incidents of which are told in detail: how he fought many battles there against the English under their king, Alstelmus, and, having repeatedly vanquished them, how the English king surrendered one-half his kingdom to him. These absurd exploits across the channel are evidently too much for the defenders of Dudo. Depping observes a judicious silence, M. Lair barely names the fact, while the more faithful advocate Palgrave contents himself with the judicious summary, "and Rollo cruised to England." I need not say that no English chronicler, save the interpolated Asser, knows of a campaign of Rollo's there, and yet the thing is not an invention. The whole is perfectly consistent with Dudo's method. He has simply transferred to Rollo the exploits of the Dane, Guthrum, who did fight many battles in England, and who did succeed

in securing the grant of half the kingdom. This confirms, and almost makes certain, our previous conjecture, that the Alstelmus of Dudo is no other than our Alfred the Great, and has nothing to do with any Athelstane.

Dudo next takes Rollo once more to the besieger's camp at Paris, and makes him enter into negotiations with the King Karl for a truce, transferring to him, as before, the account of transactions that really occurred, but of which the heroes were Karl the Fat and Sigfred. Here again we come upon chronological impossibilities, for Franco the bishop is made to negotiate the treaty, while Franco was not bishop till 909. The suggestion of Palgrave, that Franco was the bishop of Tongres mentioned in the reign of Charles le Chauve, is of no weight, for our author distinctly styles him, both now and on a previous occasion, "*Rotomagensis episcopus*." By the treaty made with Sigfred, Charles the Fat gave up Burgundy, which had refused to acknowledge his feudal superiority, to be ravaged by the Danes, and they thereupon overran a large part of the country. These ravages, which are told by the contemporary chroniclers, are transferred bodily to Rollo by Dudo, and, just as the expedition after ravaging Burgundy is brought back to Paris (*Annals of St. Vedast ad ann. 886*), so Rollo is also brought there by Dudo.

Rollo's next feat, according to Dudo, was his attack on Chartres, which was miraculously protected by a relic of the Virgin preserved in the cathedral. M. Liequet is disposed to accept this feat of Rollo as historical, save the date. I can see no good reasons for this view. The chronicles vary in the date from 891 to 911 (*see* Depping, 345, note). Chartres is out of the way of the Seine pirates. It belongs to the country of the Loire, which was the special patrimony of another set of invaders, the peculiar country of Hasting, and we find accordingly that in one authority, perhaps the only independent authority (*Aganon Vetus in the Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Pierre*, vol. i. of the *Cartularies of France*, Paris, 1842), the capture of Chartres is assigned to the band of Hasting (*see* Depping, 344, note).

Here, again, there is probably no actual invention, and we can almost see how the story has been built up, and how the crooked details have been dovetailed in: *e. g.* the campaign which Rollo is made to fight in Burgundy, to which I have already referred, is undoubtedly, as we can test by the various details, a mere transference of the account of the war as told in the Vedastine annals to Dudo's hero. In this transfer we get a curious insight into the process of fabrication. This war was actually fought in 886. Now, Ebles only became Count of Poitou in 902, yet Dudo makes him take part in it as Count of Poitou. This seems a hopeless tangle, but the fact is, that in the great campaign against Paris, of



which this Burgundian excursion is only an incident, one of the chief heroes was Ebulus or Ebles, the abbot of St. Germain, who has been shown to be the brother of Rainulph, count of Poictou, and uncle to the younger Ebles (*Annales Vedastianæ* in Pertz, i. 528, note 1), so that the mention of an Ebles of Poictou as a hero of the Burgundian war is explained. This also explains the presence of an Ebles of Poictou at the siege of Chartres.

I have mentioned how one authority assigns the celebrated capture of Chartres to Hasting. I may add that at a somewhat later date Chartres, we know, was a fief held by the leader of the Loire pirates. Rollo has again appropriated the doings of other folk—of Hasting and the Loire pirates.

We have now arrived at the end of the ninth century. The history of France during the ten years from 900 to 910 is hid in almost impenetrable mists. There is a huge gap in the Annals—they all fail us here—the reason being no doubt the terribly disturbed state of Gaul and Germany and the ravages of the Danes. As these Annals fail, so does Dudo most consistently. Having no material to transform, he creates none. He has not handed us even a tradition, but makes a clean jump over the chaotic interval; and when we emerge from the blank it is generally supposed that we come upon undoubted, independent evidence of the existence of Rollo; that the Frodoard Annals mention the treaty he made with Charles the Simple at St. Clair-sur-Epte in 911; and that this date is the first one at which we have independent evidence of the presence of Rollo in France. I differ entirely from this view; but let us first examine Dudo's account of the treaty, in which he has again dragged in circumstances that properly attach to Guthred, and has otherwise distorted the evidence. That Rollo married Gisela, daughter of Charles the Simple, as one of the terms of the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte, has been accepted by English writers with, I believe, almost unvarying credulity. Yet the fact has been virtually disproved by Dom Lobineau, by M. le Prevost, and M. Liequet. Let me collect the evidence. Charles the Simple was born in the year 879, and on the feast of St. Lambert (*i.e.* the 17th of September), as he tells us in one of his charters (*Recueil des Historiens de France*, ix. 531, quoted by Liequet 82). The treaty of St. Clair sur Epte was made, according to Dudo and his copyists, at the end of the year 911, and put in force at the beginning of 912, so that Charles must then have been 32 or at most 33 years of age. It is barely possible, but surely very improbable, that he should then have had a daughter old enough to be married. At 15 or 16 few men have daughters, nor can those daughters at 15 or 16 be described as Dudo describes Gisela:—"She joined elegance of form

to fineness of stature, prudence she joined to chastity, eloquence to affability of language. She was very ready with her needle, excelling all other maidens in this respect, and lastly, she was skilled in political matters." Again, every other authority of any weight tells us that Charles the Simple was married twice only. Dudo suggests a third wife;<sup>1</sup> but, as M. Licquet says, we know neither her name nor her origin, where nor when she was married, nor anything else about her. She is, as I have said, ignored by other authorities of any value, and we may be certain that this third marriage is a myth, created to meet the difficulty. Nor do either Depping or Lair assent to it. The two wives of whom we know something were, Frederune, the sister of Boso, Bishop of Chalons, whom he married in 907 (Mabillon, *de Re Diplomatica*, 558). She died about ten years after, and was buried in the church of St. Remi. His second wife was Edgifa, or, as the French write it, Ogiva, daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of Athelstane. It is clearly impossible that he could have had a marriageable daughter by either of these wives at the date of the treaty. The Abbé des Thuilleres, Depping, and M. Lair have suggested a concubine, and that Gisela was a natural daughter of Charles. Of this there is not the slightest evidence; it is merely an advocate's hint to save the credit of his client; and, as if to meet this very suggestion, is she not described in Dudo's own pages in the words addressed to Rollo by the Danes?—"Filia quam tibi spondet, utriusque progeniei semine regulariter exorta." (Dudo, ed Lair, 166.)

These facts make it very nearly certain that Charles the Simple could not have had a daughter of marriageable age in 911; and is the story then wholly false? By no means. Here, again, and this only makes the contention the stronger, he has merely robbed Guthred of another incident in his life. Reginon, Abbot of Prune, whose chronicle closes in the year 906, has sub ann. 882 the following notice: "Novissime rex Godfridus Normannorum ea conditione christianum se fieri pollicetur, si ei, munere regis, Frisia provincia concederetur, et Gisela filia Lotharii in uxorem daretur." As M. Licquet says: Here we have a Charles (the emperor Charles the Fat) giving away a province (Frisia) with a Gisla or Gisela to a Norman chief, on condition of his being baptized. We have in fact the very circumstances assigned to Rollo in one of the clauses of the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte. The parallelism of the stories is so complete that we are driven to the conclusion that one has been borrowed. Now, Reginon, who was a contemporary of the events he relates, and who with his own hands cut off the hair of Hugh, the brother of Gisela, when he entered a monastery a few years later, and knew the family intimately, is not likely to have been mistaken, nor could he very well



have copied Dudo, seeing he was dead long before our canon was born. We are forced to one conclusion only, namely, that, as before, Dudo has transferred from the annals an adventure of Guthred and assigned it to Rollo. With this transfer were probably also transferred from various sources the tales of which Gisela forms the subject contained in the thirty-second and thirty-third paragraphs of Dudo's second book. So much for the marriage with Gisela. There is another portion of the treaty as told by Dudo that has given rise to a great deal of furious controversy between Norman and Breton patriots. This is the alleged cession of Brittany to the step-father of the Norman dukes. This cession rests upon the faithless testimony of Dudo, which we have found wanting at every turn. In Frodoard's history of Rheims, written by one who was a contemporary, no mention of Brittany occurs. These are his words: "Post bellum quod Robertus comes contra eos Carnotenus gessit fidem Christi suscipere receperunt, concessis sibi maritimis quibusdam pagis cum Rotomagensi quam pene deleverant urbe et aliis eidem subjectis." (Frodoard's "History of Rheims." *Bibl. Mag. Vet. Pat.* x. 466—575.) Not only so, but we find that even the Bessin and Maine, the intervening country between the Seine and Brittany, were only granted to Rollo in 924. (Frod. Chrn. anno 924. Pertz, vol. iii.) While as to Brittany itself, a large portion of it was actually granted, together with the country about Nantes, to Ragnold and the Danes of the Loire, a possession which was confirmed to them in 927. In 930 the Bretons of Cornouailles rose in rebellion against their masters of the Loire, and made a general massacre of many of them; and the year following Jueon, a Danish leader of the Loire horde, ravaged Brittany and made himself master of the country of the Bretons; while in 933 we have the following remarkable passage in the Frodoard Annals, from which the above extracts are chiefly taken: "Wilhelmus, princeps Nordmannorum eidem regi (*i.e.* Rodulpho) recommittit, cui etiam rex dat terram Brittonum in ora maritima situm." Why should Rodulph give William Longsword the maritime districts of Brittany if his father had already been granted the whole province? These facts will suffice to show that Dudo's statement about the cession of Brittany to Rollo is untrustworthy. In fact, that hero had but a comparatively small heritage; it consisted only of the lands on either side of the Seine within the four dioceses of Evreux, Lisieux, Rouen, and Seez. He ought to be styled Iarl of Rouen, as the Sagas call him, rather than Duke of Normandy.

Whether the story of his upsetting the King when doing homage is true of Rollo or not, it seems too circumstantial, especially as told in a chronicle of Tours (quoted by M. Lair, p. 169, note), to be altogether an invention. It has a

vraisemblance about it that makes it exceedingly true in colouring even if not true in fact, and one is loth to part with it from one's creed, nor have we any means of disproving it beyond the very suspicious fact of finding it imbedded in Dudo's utterly unreliable narrative. So much for the details of the celebrated treaty; a few words now about its date. Dudo dates the treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte in 911 and 912, and this date has been, I believe, universally accepted, and made the basis of Norman chronology, even by such sceptics as Liequet. I believe it to be utterly wrong. The treaty is referred to by a contemporary, an authority of great value, Frodoard. In the passage from his *History of Rheims* already cited he says that Rouen, with certain other districts attached to it, were made over to the Norsemen *after* the war which Robert fought against the Carnutenses. This clearly refers to the treaty with Rollo. Now, this extract is a portion of the chapter in which Frodoard describes the good acts of Heriveus, the archbishop of Rheims, how he laboured to relieve the awful ravages of the Normans, &c. Heriveus did not become archbishop until 920. On turning to Richer's *Annals* as edited by Pertz—and Richer, next to Frodoard, is the most reliable authority for this period of any of the chroniclers—we find under the year 921 the following sentence—"Dum haec gerebantur Rotbertus Celticae Galliae dux piratas acriter impetebat. Irruperant enim duce Rollone filio Catilli intra Neustria repentini jamque Ligerim classe transmiserat ac finibus illius indemnes potiebantur." The account then goes on to describe how this Danish horde was converted to Christianity by the assistance of Wido of Rouen, &c., &c. This is absolutely the first mention of Rollo in any chronicle, so far as I know. He is here called the son of Catill or Ketil, a curious fact for which I cannot account. We are further told that he made an invasion of Neustria or Normandy. Surely an entry into his own country would not be thus described. He went to the Loire, that is, past Chartres, which is referred to in the passage from Frodoard's *History of Rheims* just cited. His folk were then converted, and settled at Rouen, as we are told in the same history. This is all sub ann. 921, and I believe most firmly that this is the year in which Rollo really settled on the Seine. To me it seems incredible that the annals should bristle with the names of Norse leaders, Sigfred, Gurm, Ingo, Hunedeus, Hasting, Ragnald, Godfred, &c., &c., and yet that they should keep a rigid silence in regard to one of the most famous of them, Rollo, the grantee of the Seine valley,—so near to St. Vedast and to Rheims; so near too to Paris. The only explanation of their not mentioning him that satisfies a reasonable criticism is, that he was not there. A faithful reading of the passages I have quoted makes it almost certain that he had



only lately arrived in 921 ; and, when to this is added that this date clashes with no authority save that of the utterly untrustworthy Dudo and his followers, we shall have no hesitation in accepting it.

I have now reached the last chapter of Dudo's second book. In this he collects some of the notable events of Rollo's reign. These seem, like the rest of his statements, to be altogether unreliable.

He begins with an account of the various benefactions the converted pirate made to the several churches of the diocese. There is nothing intrinsically improbable in a new convert who had lately been granted a wide stretch of lands making a liberal grant of portions of them to the Church, and, as means of disproving Dudo's statement on this head are not very accessible, they might perhaps pass. Yet one cannot help suspecting the whole account when one or two details are found to be wanting in probability. Thus he is made to grant lands to the church of Bayeux on the second day after his baptism, that is, according to Dudo, in 911, according to my argument in 921 ; but the Bessin, the country of the Baiocenses, was only granted to Rollo, as I have shown, in 924. On the fourth day he is made to give lands to the church of St. Michael the Archangel. This surely was far away from any territory ruled by Rollo. The celebrated mount may then have harboured a college of Celtic anchorites, but I believe its church was only built in the reign of Rollo's grandson Richard. So that here again we have great improbability. On the seventh day he is made to grant lands to the church of St. Denis. In this case alone the lands are specified. He tells us he gave the district of Brenneval to the old abbey. Some parade has been made of a charter of Richard the First, the earliest charter of the Norman dukes, in which this grant is referred to and confirmed, but the genuineness and value as evidence of the deed are very much in question when we find that these very lands belonged to the abbey of St. Denis as early as 750 (*see* M. Lair's note, page 171).

After referring to the marriage with Gisela, Dudo goes on to tell us of Rollo's administrative efforts. His short, well-rounded sentences have given rise to a huge waste of rhetorical commentary. He tells us Rollo divided the land among his followers by the rope. This was undoubtedly the method in vogue among the Norsemen, and was known among them by the technical term of *reebning* (*see* Palgrave, i. 692) ; but it is very probable that long before Rollo's arrival the Seine valley was well tenanted by Norsemen and Danes, and if so their portions were measured out long before by Hunnideus, or some other leader, who had been, like Rollo, a grantee of lands in Neustria. He is credited with being a law-maker. This is intrinsically very improbable. The Norse folk had elaborate laws long

before Rollo's day, whose uniformity is remarkable in their various settlements from Iceland to Kief, and we may be sure that when they settled in Neustria the *Thing* and the old code of the North settled too, and that Rollo was not the founder of the great customary code of Normandy. He is credited with rebuilding churches and walls, but he lived too short a time after his arrival to do much in building, nor, judging from what we know of Norman buildings, was much done in this way till the time of the second Richard. These phrases of Dudo are mere rhetorical flourishes, they have been mistaken for solid history, and it is very curious to turn to the pages of Palgrave and see how conjecture and credulity have woven out of them a most elaborate picture.

We have still left for criticism the concluding paragraph of Dudo's story, in which he makes his hero, overwhelmed by age and infirmity, lay down his power and resign it to his son William. And here again Dudo stands alone, and is virtually contradicted by the *Annals*; but in this case the *Annals* are not quite consistent. Richer tells us that Rollo was killed at the capture and sack of Eu in 925. In his edition of Richer, Pertz adds a note that a line has been drawn through the sentence, but this erasure is probably that of a subsequent hand, for I find two years later the following sentence unerased: "*ibique filius Rollonis pyratae de cujus interfectione jam relatam est, regis manibus sese militaturum committit, &c.*" (Richer sub ann. 927.) I am disposed to think that Richer was mistaken. The Frodoard *Annals* do not mention Rollo's being there. They expressly state that he sent a contingent of 1000 men to the assistance of Eu; and, if the catastrophe had been anything like so bad as his account makes out, it seems incredible that in 927 the Normans should be in a position still to hold Odo, the son of Herbert, as a hostage. Rollo and the main bulk of the Norman forces were probably uninjured at Rouen, and it was only the frontier fortress of Eu that succumbed. Two years later, that is in 927, we find according to all authorities that William son of Rollo did homage to the French king for his possessions. In Frodoard's *History of Rheims* it is thus described: "*Herebertus Karolum de custodia in qua cum detinebat eiecit et ad Sanetum Quintinum deduxit indeque cum eodem Karolo Nordmannorum colloquium expetiit. Ubi se Willelmus filius Rollonis principis Nordmannorum Karolo commendavit et amicitiam cum Hereberto confirmavit.*"

There is no mention here or elsewhere in the *Annals* of any resignation by Rollo and of his surviving for five years. The name of Rollo disappears entirely from their pages. It was not by resignation that the fierce old sea-rovers gave up their power. It was a fashion with some of the Mervings and Karlings, but the



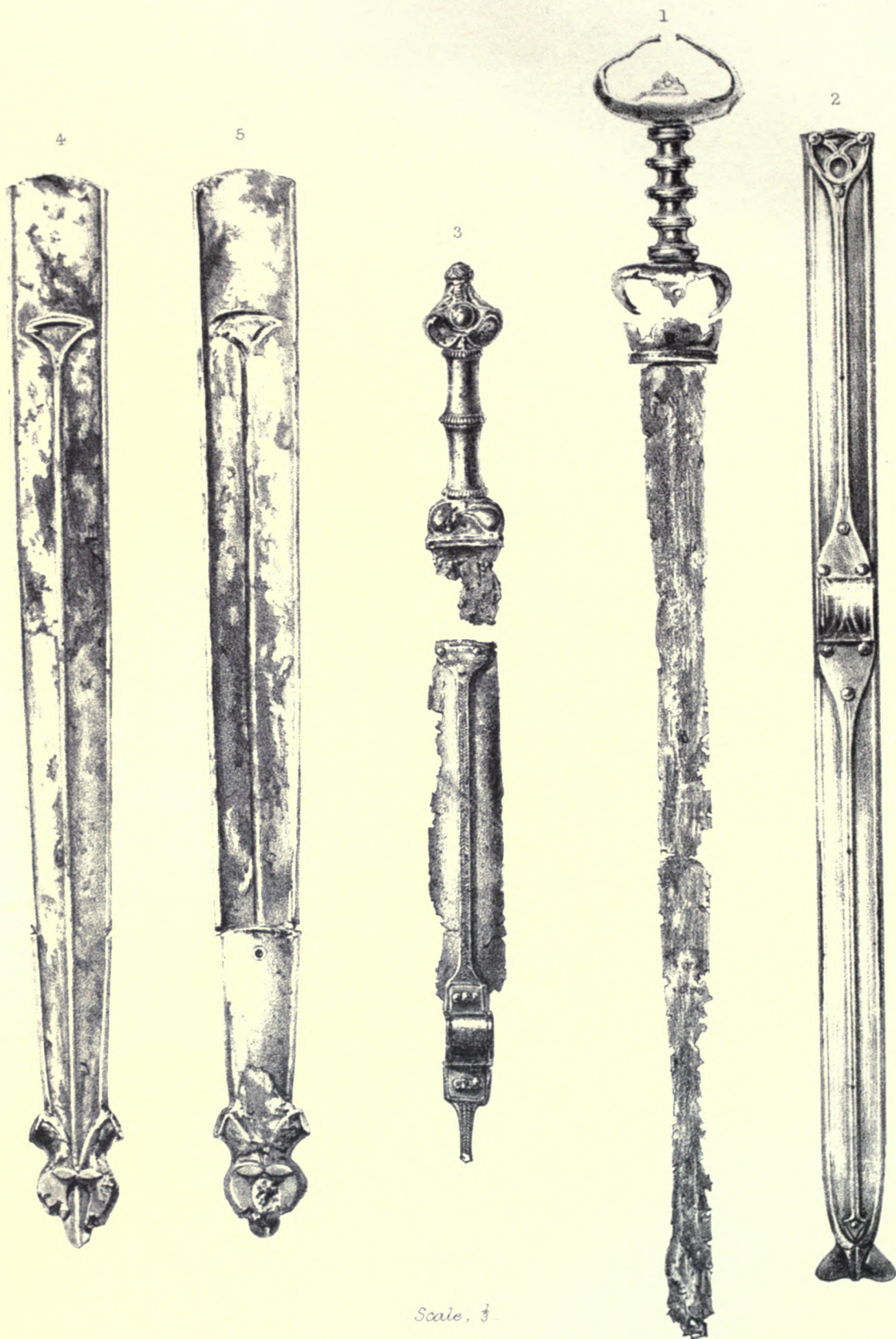
tale, as applied to Rollo, is highly improbable. The notion that old age brought on his resignation is bound up with the absurd chronology by which the first landing of Rollo in Neustria is antedated at least thirty and probably forty years. Ragnald, earl of Möre, was the bosom friend and companion of Harold Haarfager; the latter was about 83 in 939. It is hardly probable that one of the younger sons of Ragnald, who, we are told expressly, were still infants when their half-brothers, the Mamzers, Turf Eimar, and the rest, were grown up, should have been a feeble old man in 932. Like the rest of the story, this concluding paragraph is untrustworthy.

I have now examined Dudo's account of Rollo from beginning to end, and have shown reason for believing it to be a mere farrago of distorted and altered fragments from the old annalists; that we have nothing in it of any value or reliability; and that the whole history of his reign must be re-written from other materials. Considering how important a figure Rollo is in the history both of France and England, I hope this criticism of his chief biographer may be accepted by the Society of Antiquaries, and that the presumption of its author may be excused.

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Scale,  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

J. F. Keillath, London.

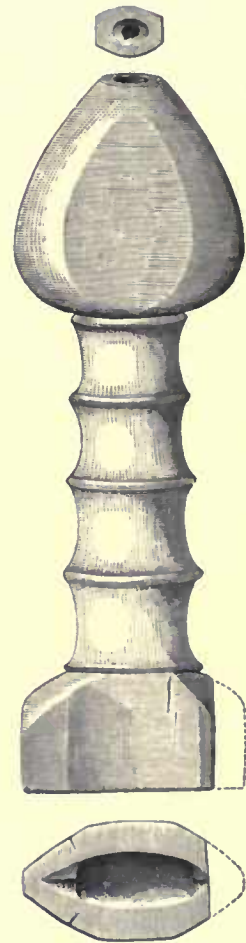
IX.—*Notes on a Sword found in Catterdale, Yorkshire, exhibited by Lord Wharnccliffe, and on other Examples of the same kind.* By AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, Esq., Vice-President.

Read November 24, 1870.<sup>a</sup>

THE sword which Lord Wharnccliffe has been good enough to exhibit to the Society was found on the moors of Catterdale, at the head of Wensleydale, Yorkshire, on the borders of Westmoreland, but I am not aware whether any circumstances connected with its discovery have been recorded beyond that it lay about one foot under ground.

It is a remarkable specimen on account of its having retained considerable portions of the handle, a part generally wanting, and which enables us, to a certain extent, to judge of its form. These remains of the handle are of thin bronze, probably once attached to horn or hard wood, now perished; in general outline it somewhat resembles a Roman sword-handle of ivory now preserved in the British Museum, and engraved in the Proceedings, 2nd S. iii. p. 322, and here reproduced.<sup>b</sup> The form of the handle now exhibited is, however, more florid, and it would almost appear to be a copy of Roman work rather than to have been made by the Romans. The lower portion of the handle is somewhat similar to the same part of the sword found in the British entrenchment at Hod Hill, Dorsetshire, now in the collection of Mr. Durden of Blandford, and engraved in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. pl. i.

The iron blade (Plate XVI. fig. 1) is somewhat injured, especially towards the lower end; the sheath (fig. 2), which is well preserved, is of bronze: the front is comparatively plain, but the back is strengthened by a band of bronze, of which the upper part spreads out into a pierced triangular plate; at about two-fifths of its length it widens into a very prominent loop, through



ROMAN SWORD-HANDLE OF  
IVORY, LENGTH 5½ IN.

<sup>a</sup> This communication has since been amplified and brought down to our present state of knowledge.

<sup>b</sup> A sword-handle of the same material and shape, found at Weisenau, near Mayence, is engraved in



which no doubt a belt or rather cord or chain was passed; the end is protected by a solid bifurcate ornament. The length of the sheath is 23 inches.

The whole of this sheath closely resembles one found on the Morton Hall Estate, at the foot of the Pentland Hills, in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh. It is preserved in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, and is figured in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, ii. p. 129, and in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 5. Its length is nearly two feet, and it differs from the specimen from Catterdale only in the ornamental plate at the top being square instead of triangular, and in the lower termination being more richly ornamented.

Swords of the peculiar workmanship exhibited in the Catterdale specimen have been found from time to time in England, though by no means common; as a rule, like other objects of the same age, they show great variety in their details, though having the same general character. In this respect they differ from the well-known bronze swords, in which variation is less frequent and less marked.

I have given some account of these swords in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*, p. 174, enumerating the specimens then known to me, but as some additional examples have been discovered, and Kemble's work has become scarce owing to the limited impression, it may be desirable to return to the subject more fully than would otherwise be necessary.

The most remarkable sword of the class found in England was discovered at Embleton, near Cockermouth, in Cumberland. It is engraved in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv. pl. xxxiii. xxxiv., and in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 3. It was formerly in the museum at Keswick, but was acquired at the sale of that collection by the British Museum in 1870. A considerable portion of the bronze handle remains, and is decorated with enamel, as are also some portions of the front of the sheath of the same metal. The iron blade is well preserved and terminates in a sharp point; the sheath is divided by cross bands into four portions, two ornamented with chequer work engraved, the other two once filled with open-work, of which some details were enamelled. It has a loop half way down the back, and a bifurcate termination. The original length of the sword seems to have been about 2 ft. 3 in.

The only specimen hitherto found in England with a perfect handle<sup>a</sup> was

Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band ii. Heft iv. Taf. 3. Portions of similar handles, made of bone, and found in London, are preserved in the British Museum, chiefly from the Roach Smith Collection; there are also in the museum two fragments of the same kind from Cologne.

<sup>a</sup> Only one other sword of this date with a perfect handle is known to me, a Hungarian specimen, noticed further on.

discovered, according to a label attached to it, "under a heap of stones at Worton, near Lancaster." The handle is of solid bronze; of the blade little remains, and of the sheath only the upper part of the back with its band and large loop towards the centre. It is engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 1, and on a larger scale in our Plate, XVI. fig. 3. In many respects it resembles the Catterdale sword. It is preserved in the British Museum.

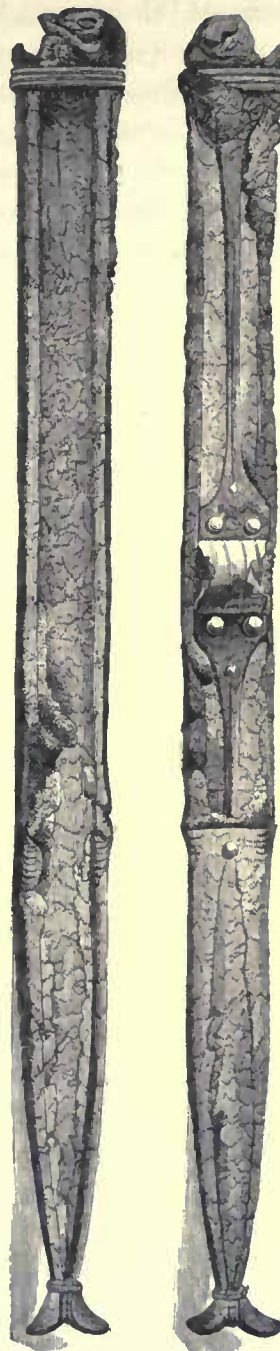
Among the remarkable objects discovered in the entrenchments at Stanwick, Yorkshire, was a sword of iron rusted into its bronze sheath, but of which the handle is lost. Present length, 1 ft. 11½ in. It was presented, with the rest of the find, to the British Museum, by Algernon, Duke of Northumberland, and is engraved in *Kemble's Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 2. This exhibits the bifurcate end and the central band forming a loop near the middle of the sheath, the upper end of which is slightly arched.

A very similar sword-blade of iron, likewise rusted into its sheath, to which is attached a small portion of its handle, was found near Flasby, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is engraved in the York volume of the *Archæological Institute*, and the illustration is here reproduced. It is in the possession of Captain Preston, of Flasby Hall.

To the sheath of a sword of the same description, but of a larger size, may belong a bronze loop, found at Icklingham, Suffolk, now preserved in the British Museum, and engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 8.

The sword found at Hod Hill has already been alluded to. It consists of large portions of the bronze handle and the upper part of the iron blade. The similarity of its handle to the Catterdale sword renders it probable that, like the latter, it had a bronze sheath with a bifurcate termination, and a large loop at the back.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In the same collection (that of Mr. Durden, of Blandford) is the



SWORD WITH BRONZE SCABBARD  
FOUND AT FLASBY, YORKSHIRE.



The next class of swords to be mentioned differs somewhat from those which have been described, the large loop at the back being made less prominent and removed to a higher part of the sheath. They are of a larger size, with less ornamented sheaths, and with plain rounded ends; but as to the form of the handles we are left uncertain, as none of them have been preserved.

One of these, probably the finest, was found in the Thames, near London, and is in the collection of Lord Londesborough.<sup>a</sup> It is engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xv. fig. 2. The iron blade is rusted into the scabbard and the handle is lost; but notwithstanding this it measures no less than three feet in length. The sheath is formed of two thin plates of bronze with an edging of the same metal, from which proceed at intervals cross bands to strengthen it. The loop for suspension is towards the upper part of the back; the end of the scabbard is somewhat heart-shaped, so as to resemble in some measure the next class to be described, which it also resembles in the arched form of the upper end.

Another sword of which the handle is lost was found in the river Witham, near Lincoln. The sheath is of similar workmanship to the last, and the loop is high up, but the only cross bands are at the upper end. It belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and is engraved in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1796, pl. xi., and in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xiv. fig. 2.<sup>b</sup>

A portion of a similar sword was found near Boxmoor, Herts, and is preserved in the British Museum. It consists of part of an iron blade in its bronze sheath.

An entire sheath of the same character as those last described, 2 ft. 5 in. long, was found in the Thames at Battersea, 1858, and is in the British Museum. It is engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 4. Its end is rounded.

The foreign examples which come nearest to this class of swords are:

1. In the museum at Amiens. It was discovered in the Somme, near Camon. A slight sketch of one side of it appeared in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv. pl. xii. fig. 1. The handle is wanting; its length 2 feet 10 in.

2. An iron sword in a bronze sheath, handle lost, found in the Danube near Ulm, and in the possession of Dr. Hölder, of Stuttgart. It is engraved in

end of a sword-sheath found at Spettisbury, Dorset, a fragment of another sword-handle from Hod Hill, and other remains of the same period.

<sup>a</sup> Exhibited to the Society, Jan. 21, 1858. See *Proceedings*, iv. 145. It is also engraved in *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. pl. xvi.

<sup>b</sup> Exhibited to the Society February 25, 1858. See *Proceedings*, iv. 166. Two other swords with bronze sheaths, found in the Witham at Washingborough, were exhibited at the Lincoln Meeting of the Archaeological Institute by S. M. Peto, Esq. and James Peto, Esq. These I have never had an opportunity of examining.

Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band ii. Heft vii. Taf. 6, No. 1. Its length is 3 feet without the tang, which is wanting.

3. An iron sword with part of its bronze sheath, length 2 feet 11 in. found in a grave in Rhenish Hesse. (Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, Band ii. Heft vii. Taf. 6, No. 2.)

4. A sword-sheath of bronze with a rounded end and cross bands; about 2 ft. 6 in. in length; found in the works of the Nidau-Büren canal, and preserved in the museum at Berne.

A third series differs again in some points. The sheaths are more tapering, and the whole weapon resembles an enlarged dagger rather than a sword. The upper end of the sheath is generally arched, fitting into an ogee-shaped bar forming the lower part of the handle.

One of the finest of these was found at Buckthorpe, near Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire, and is now in the possession of Lord Halifax. The sheath is covered with engraved scroll patterns, and with it were brought to light some discs of bronze covered with balls of opaque red glass, no doubt intended to imitate coral. It was exhibited to the Society 6th December, 1860.<sup>a</sup>

Another somewhat similar (present length 2 ft. 5 in. and with a bronze sheath and portions of the framework of the handle) was found with a skeleton at Grimthorpe, near Poeklington, East Riding of Yorkshire, with portions of a shield, bone skewers, &c. all of which are now in the British Museum. The find took place in 1868, and an account of it has been published by Mr. Mortimer in *Jewitt's Reliquary* (ix. p. 180), where the objects are engraved. The writer seems to consider the remains British, but the article is erroneously entitled *Anglo-Saxon*. They were exhibited to our Society by Dr. Barnard Davis, F.S.A. on March 18, 1869, and have been noticed in the *Proceedings*, 2nd S. iv. 273.

To this class may belong a second sword found in the river Witham, near Lincoln, in 1826, and now preserved in the Duke of Northumberland's museum at Alnwick Castle. It was exhibited to our Society January 15, 1852, by its



IRON SWORD FOUND IN THE WITHAM.

then owner, E. J. Willson, Esq., F.S.A., and engraved in *Proceedings*, ii. 199, (the woodcut is here reproduced,) and also exhibited by the Duke of Northumber-

<sup>a</sup> *Proceedings*, 2nd S. i. 263.



land in January 1858;<sup>a</sup> it is likewise engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xviii. fig. 10. The blade, which is 2 ft. 1 in. long, is sharply pointed. Only a fragment of the bronze scabbard has been preserved, with a curled pattern in bold relief, with engraved scrolls, closely resembling the work on the Thames and Witham shields. The rest of the scabbard may have been of some other material.

A bronze sheath of a sword of the same period is in the collection of the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A. and is represented in Pl. XVI. fig. 4, 5. It consists of the front of the sheath with a raised line in the centre, terminating in a triangle, and with a solid end; of the back only the lower part remains, the rest having been probably made of leather. This specimen was found by fishermen in the bed of the river Tweed, on the Scotch bank, just above the village of Carham. No other objects were discovered with it. Length 1 ft. 9 in.

In the same collection is a remarkable bronze sheath of the same period, found in Ireland, and ornamented with engraved scrolls of Late Celtic design.<sup>b</sup> Its length is 1 ft. 8 in.

The ends of two similar sheaths have also been found in Ireland; one of them from Athenry, co. Galway, is in the British Museum, and is engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xvii. fig. 4. The other is in the collection of Miss Margaret Stokes.

An extraordinary sword of this type has been discovered at Halstatt, in the Salzkammergut of Austria, though not of the same early date as the greater part of the objects from that remarkable cemetery. On the bronze plate which forms the front of the sheath is faintly engraved a series of designs; on a long panel which occupies the middle are three warriors on foot, with spears and large oval shields: following them are four warriors on horseback without shields, one of them transfixing a prostrate enemy with his long spear; only one of these horsemen wears a sword, which is similar to the one in question, and is attached to his left side; at each end is a smaller panel with two men holding between them a circular shield or wheel. The details of the horses exhibit the usual Celtic tendency to run off into scroll patterns. The lower end has on it a monster with a human head overcoming a prostrate man. The entire length of the sword, which is preserved in the Museum at Vienna, is 2 ft. 7 in. An engraving of it, full size, has been published by Baron von Sacken in the *Transactions of the Academy of Vienna*.

<sup>a</sup> Proceedings, iv. 145.

<sup>b</sup> Engravings of the two sheaths in the Rev. W. Greenwell's collection have appeared in Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band iii. Heft iii. Taf. 3, but the localities are wrongly stated.

Another specimen is recorded as having been found at Remmesweiler, near Trèves, in 1837. The bronze sheath was here quite plain, but had an end bearing a close analogy to those above noticed as found in Ireland. The length of the sheath was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet.<sup>a</sup>

A sword, unfortunately imperfect, was found bent up at Szendro, county Borfod, Hungary, and is preserved in the National Museum at Buda-Pesth. It is remarkable for its handle being entire; this is of an elongated X form with a kind of knob between the two upper branches with scrolls upon it. The length of this handle is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.<sup>b</sup> It resembles somewhat the handle of a dagger found in the Witham, engraved in *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xvii. fig. 2.

The swords which we have hitherto described have sheaths or handles of bronze. There is a still larger number of such weapons, which from their form, the ornaments upon them, or the nature of the objects found with them, must be referred to the same period and origin. In these the sheaths, as well as the blades, are of iron, a material which from its liability to decay does not generally retain any ornamental details in a condition so easily to be recognised as bronze. These swords belong chiefly to the third class described above, and the handles are almost entirely wanting.

Most of these swords have been found on the Continent. There are, however, six of them in the British Museum found in the Thames near London.<sup>c</sup> On one of the blades are punctured ornaments similar to those that occur on the Swiss examples. Their average length is about 2 ft. 3 in.

Another sword in the same collection, with scanty remains of its sheath, was found at Spettisbury, Dorset, with other remains of a Late Celtic character.<sup>d</sup> Its length is 2 ft. 7 in., but the point is wanting.

An Irish specimen, found in a bog at Lisnacragher, co. Antrim, is in the collection of the Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A. It is well preserved, measures 1 ft. 8 in. in length, and has retained two circular plates and two curved bars of bronze which have formed the framework of its handle.

<sup>a</sup> *Abbildungen von Mainzer Alterthümern*, No. iv. p. 8. Mainz, 1852.

<sup>b</sup> Engraved in *Guide to National Museum, Buda-Pesth*; and in *Transactions of the Prehistoric Congress at Paris*, p. 334.

<sup>c</sup> Two of these are from the Roach Smith collection. See his *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, p. 100, Nos. 531, 532, where one of them is engraved. They are erroneously classed as Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>d</sup> Exhibited to the Society April 15, 1858. See *Proceedings*, iv. 188.



In France the discoveries of this nature have been numerous, especially among the great Gaulish cemeteries<sup>a</sup> of the Marne, and several examples from them are deposited in the Museum at St. Germain.

One of the most interesting of these discoveries, for the associated relics, was made in a tomb at La Gorge-Meillet, Somme-Tourbe (Marne). The tomb contained the remains of two skeletons with swords of this kind. The lower skeleton had been buried in or under a chariot, of which the wheels and some of the fittings remained; with them were also horse-trappings, a singular bronze helmet, similar in form to the remarkable specimen found at Berru (Marne), a bronze œnochoe of Etruscan form, a gold armlet,<sup>b</sup> &c. Most of these objects belonged to the lower interment, and pits had been sunk on each side of the body to receive the wheels, which thus remained in their natural position.<sup>c</sup>

In another tomb of the same kind, at Somme-Bionne (Marne), M. Morel<sup>d</sup> discovered similar remains, including a bronze œnochoe of Etruscan form, accompanied by a sword without handle, length 3 feet. The sheath had a plate of bronze in front and of iron behind, united by edgings of iron; the termination and a cross bar near the top of bronze. One of the most interesting facts connected with this tomb was the discovery of a shallow painted Greek patera with a figure in red of an ephebe holding a ball, probably made about B.C. 300.

At Montfercant, commune of Marson (Marne), M. Morel discovered a skeleton with an iron sword in its sheath on the right side, a spear-head, shield-boss, vase, &c. The sword was 2 ft. 7½ in. long.<sup>e</sup> In other tombs of the same cemetery he discovered five other iron swords of various lengths, from 3 feet to 21 inches. The smallest had attached to the upper end of the sheath a shield-shaped plate of bronze with three rude human faces in relief.<sup>f</sup>

The same antiquary communicated in 1866 to the *Revue Archéologique*<sup>g</sup> an account of a Gaulish cemetery at Somsois (Marne), where in one of the tombs he found an iron sword and sheath, bent nearly double. With it were discovered a fibula, a twisted chain, and a spear-head, all of iron.

<sup>a</sup> A list of these Gaulish cemeteries is given by M. Bertrand, *Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise*, p. 373.

<sup>b</sup> This solid ornament was penannular, with two expanding terminations, and closely resembled some of the Irish gold ornaments.

<sup>c</sup> Mazard, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1877, pp. 154, 217. Fourdrignier, *Double Sépulture Gauloise de la Gorge-Meillet*. Paris, 1878.

<sup>d</sup> Mazard, *loc. cit.* Morel, *Album des Cimetières de la Marne*, 2<sup>e</sup> liv. pl. 7-12. Chalons sur Marne, 1876.

<sup>e</sup> *Album*, pl. i. fig. 2.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.* pl. ii. figs. 9-13.

<sup>g</sup> *Rev. Arch.* xiv. p. 26.

Abbé Cochet has described a sword and sheath found in a cemetery at Le Hallais, commune of Bouelles. Its length was 2 ft. 6 in., not including the tang of the handle, which was imperfect. The edges of the sheath appear to have been of bronze; the end was rounded.<sup>a</sup> He has also published an account of a similar sword found folded either once or twice, and discovered in a tomb at Eslettes. Its whole length was nearly 3 ft.<sup>b</sup>

Other discoveries of a like kind are noticed by Abbé Cochet as having occurred at Côte des Caillettes, near Saint Wandrille-Rançon, and at Moulineaux.<sup>c</sup>

Another iron sword in its sheath, also bent up, is preserved in the museum of Clermont-Ferrand. It was found in a tumulus near Aurillac. Several other examples are preserved in the same collection, two of them being also folded.

One of the most remarkable discoveries however of such swords took place in the excavations made by the Emperor Napoleon III. at Alise Sainte Reine, the much-disputed site of the Alesia of Cæsar. Several of these swords are represented in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1864, vol. x. pl. 22-23, and they evidently belong to the second class of swords described above.<sup>d</sup>

In Switzerland a considerable number of these swords have been found, principally in the lake-dwellings, and chiefly at La Tene, near Marin, Lake of Neuchâtel, where about fifty have from time to time been brought to light. They have been described in various works on the Swiss Lake Dwellings,<sup>e</sup> and have for the most part passed into the museum at Bienne, with the collection of Colonel Schwab. One well-preserved example has been presented to the British Museum by Professor E. Desor, of Neuchâtel. These swords vary in length from 3 feet 6 in. to 2 feet 9 in. including the tangs which passed through the handles. Of the handles themselves no portions have been preserved, but they are conjectured, on the authority of Colonel Schwab, to have been of wood.

From the conditions under which they were found these swords exhibit all the minute details and ornaments of the metal-work; the upper ends of the scabbards have embossed or engraved designs, and the sheaths are occasionally covered with punched diapers. In one instance the upper part of the sheath has on it

<sup>a</sup> Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises*, &c. 1857, p. 406. *Seine Inferieure*, p. 327.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* p. 407. *Seine Inferieure*, p. 424.

<sup>c</sup> Cochet, *Seine Inferieure*, pp. 303, 460.

<sup>d</sup> See also *Rev. Arch.* xii. p. 81. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, Band iii. Heft ii. Taf. 1, No. 14.

<sup>e</sup> See Dr. Ferdinand Keller's seven reports on the subject, published in the *Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Zurich*; the two editions of the *Lake Dwellings of Switzerland*, translated from Dr. Keller, and arranged by J. E. Lee, F.S.A. 1866 and 1878; Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres*, 1860.



three animals, apparently fantastic figures of ibexes in low relief. This specimen is in the collection of Professor Desor.<sup>a</sup> On some of the blades makers' stamps appear, but no letters; about thirteen varieties of these stamps are known, chiefly creseent forms, boars, &c.

A still larger quantity of such swords, but in a bad state of preservation, have been brought to light in the remarkable deposit at Tiefenau, near Berne,<sup>b</sup> described by Baron Gustave de Bonstetten, Hon. F.S.A., in his memoir "*Notice des Armes et Chariots de Guerre déeouverts à Tiefenau près de Berne en 1851.*" Two of them are in the British Museum. The other objects consisted of portions of chariot wheels, horse trappings, spears, daggers, fragments of helmets, and lumps of chain mail, all much oxidised. The most interesting fact was the discovery of a few coins of Massilia, the Sequani, Leuci, and Parisii, all pointing to a Gaulish period anterior to the Roman Empire.

Among isolated specimens found in Switzerland may be noticed one from Basadingen (Thurgau), preserved in the Zurich Museum, and another found in a tumulus at Romanel, near Lausanne, engraved in Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres*, pl. xiv. fig. 21.

In Germany discoveries of this nature have been more rare. Besides the two noticed above may be cited one found at the foot of the Swabian Alps, and preserved in the museum of the University of Tübingen,<sup>c</sup> length 2 ft. 8 in. Thirteen were discovered by Wilhelmi in a cemetery at Sinsheim, Grand Duchy of Baden, one of which is engraved in his *Beschreibung vierzehn alten Deutschen Todtenhügel*, taf. iii. 13. I am aware that Dr. Keller does not consider this cemetery to be of the same age as the swords from the Swiss lakes, but in it were found other antiquities similar to those discovered with the swords under consideration in other parts of the world, especially iron fibulæ of a peculiar type.

In 1867 I obtained at Augsburg for the British Museum the upper part of a sword such as we are describing, and which was stated to have been found near that city. It bears a creseent-shaped maker's stamp<sup>d</sup> inclosing apparently a rude head in front view.

A sword of the same kind with a fragment of its iron sheath and the blade with the same stamp as that just described was found at Spires, and is engraved

<sup>a</sup> Engraved in *Transactions of the Prehistoric Congress at Paris*, p. 294.

<sup>b</sup> See also A. Jahn, in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, 1854, p. 135.

<sup>c</sup> Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft i. Taf. 5, No. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Similar to the one engraved in Keller's *Lake Dwellings*, translated by Lee, 2nd ed. p. 413.

in Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, Band ii. Heft vii. Taf. 6, No. 3. It is preserved in the museum of Mayence, and its length is 2 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.

Another found in a grave near Heidesheim, length 2 ft. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. is published in the same work and plate, No. 4. It has fragments of an ornamented iron sheath, is broken in two, and was found with a shield-boss, a fibula of the usual form, and other objects.<sup>a</sup>

In the Berlin Museum is preserved a large sword and sheath, which have been folded backwards and forwards several times. It was found at Münsterwalde, near Marienweiler, together with a spear-head of iron, also doubled up. Another, imperfect and much bent and without a sheath, is in the same museum, and was found at Pietrowa, Kr. Schrimmer.

I must not omit to mention an iron sword in the museum at Mayence 2 ft. 8 in. long, found in the neighbourhood of Ingelheim; the upper part of the iron sheath has been preserved, on which are the letters C S or C S I. It is evidently a sword of this class, but the form of the loop betrays Roman influence; the letters are not however stamped like a maker's mark, and the letters may have been added by its Roman owner, though Roman letters were in use among the Celts, as shown by their coins.<sup>b</sup>

Even in Hungary some finds of this kind have occurred; a plain specimen found in that country, but without precise locality, is in the museum at Vienna, and measures 3 feet in length. Another with remains of the iron sheath and ornamental termination belongs to the University of Buda-Pesth; its length is 2 ft. 7 in. A third, found in the county of Somogy, is in the possession of Count Szechenyi; its length is 2 ft. 9 in. A fourth, in the collection of Baron Nyary, has been in ancient times bent nearly double, sheath and all; length 2 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.

In the National Museum at Buda-Pesth three are preserved, besides the one with a bronze handle noticed above. One of these was found in the Danube, at Czanad, co. Pesth. The sheath is lost and the end is imperfect. The second, with part of its iron sheath and a cross band of scrolls towards the upper part, was discovered at Bacska, co. Bako; its length is 3 ft. 4 in. The third is a remarkable specimen; on the tang are two circular plates of iron and a curved piece at the top, which form the framework of its handle, and closely resemble an Irish specimen described above. The blade, which is in all 2 ft. 10 in. in

<sup>a</sup> Engravings of two other such swords from Germany are given in the same plate, Nos. 5, 6; another, from Heidesheim, without a sheath, in Band iii. Heft ii. Taf. 1, No. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Heft i. Taf. 5, Nos. 2, 3.



length, is thickly covered with small dents ; the sheath has on the back, near the top, a richly ornamented loop, with a triple spiral pattern, and on the upper part of the front are engraved scrolls of a thoroughly Celtic character. This remarkable specimen was found in a tomb at Ipoly-szob. At the bottom of the pit lay several urns ; above them was the sword, with an iron spear, part of a shield-boss, a twisted collar or chain, and three fibulæ of the type so often found with these swords.<sup>a</sup> There is also in the same museum the end of a sword-sheath of the usual type, but remarkably well preserved, found at Palfa, co. Nograd.

It is not however only to the north of the Alps that the discovery of swords of this description is confined. The attention of archæologists has been long directed to the remarkable excavations which have been made in the ancient necropolis of Marzabotto in the Apennines, and they have been very fully illustrated in two works<sup>b</sup> by Count Giovanni Gozzadini, Hon. F.S.A. published in 1865 and 1870.

On visiting these excavations, while attending the Prehistoric Congress at Bologna, M. Gabriel de Mortillet was much surprised to recognise, among the relics which had been excavated, some weapons, all found in the same tomb, identical in form with French arms considered to be unquestionably Gaulish. He published a note on this subject in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1871, vol. xxii. p. 288, illustrated with an engraving (pl. xxii), giving a sword and spear-head from Marzabotto with the same weapons from the cemeteries of the Marne.

The identity is most striking, though Italian archæologists are not disposed to accept the possible mixture of a Gaulish element in this cemetery, as it would affect the early date to which they would wish to refer it,<sup>c</sup> and to which no doubt some of the remains may belong. Among these remains are several portions of Greek painted vases with red figures of about the same date as the cup discovered by M. Morel at Somme-Bionne, and which, like it, may be referred to about B.C. 300—280.

This is exactly the period of the great wars between the Romans and the allied Gauls and Etruscans.

I may add that M. Alexandre Bertrand<sup>d</sup> has expressed his perfect concurrence with the suggestions made by M. de Mortillet.

<sup>a</sup> See *Archæologiai Közlemények, Képtálasz* ii. pl. iv. v. 1861.

<sup>b</sup> *Di una antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese. Fol. Bologna, 1865. Ulteriori scoperte nell' antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese. Fol. Bologna, 1870.*

<sup>c</sup> See *Compte-rendu du Congrès Préhistorique de Bologne*, p. 258.

<sup>d</sup> *Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise*, p. 359. Paris, 1876.

Before terminating these notes I ought perhaps to mention some very rude iron objects which in two cases at least have been found in England in company with swords of this kind and which may not improbably be bars of iron roughly prepared to be afterwards forged into sword-blades.

These rude objects are flat bars pinched up at one end so as to form a kind of handle.

Numerous specimens have been found in England. At Hod Hill and Spettisbury, Dorset,<sup>a</sup> they have been discovered on the same spots as the swords described above. They have also been found by themselves at Winchester, five of which are in the British Museum; at Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, where 147 were found;<sup>b</sup> at a camp at Meon Hill in the same county no less than 394 in number;<sup>c</sup> and on the Malvern Hills, between Great Malvern and the Wyche, where 150 were brought to light.<sup>d</sup>

At Tiefenau, near Berne, with the remarkable assemblage of antiquities already noticed, were discovered some thick pieces of iron like ingots, but with tangs at one end, which may have served the same purpose.<sup>e</sup>

In the above observations I have attempted to bring together what materials I have been able to discover for the study of this curious class of swords, which we find as far west as Ireland, and as far east as Hungary; as far north as Scotland, and as far south as the Apennines. In all these countries the swords exhibit great points of family resemblance, but a certain amount of individual character.

The length of the whole weapon varies from 3 ft. 6 in. to 1 ft. 8 in. The ends are fairly sharp, scarcely so pointed as the bronze swords that preceded them, and not so rounded as the Teutonic swords that followed them. The tangs of tolerable length, so as to give a good grip; the handles, rarely preserved, formed in a very few instances of bronze either wholly or in part, but more generally the tangs only remain, the rest of the handles having been made of some material that has perished, probably wood. The sheaths often made of bronze in England, rarely of iron; often of iron on the continent, and rarely of bronze. The loops for suspension in one variety very prominent and half way down the sheath, but more generally less prominent and at the upper end. The tops of the sheaths

<sup>a</sup> Proceedings, iv. 188; Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. pl. ii. figs. 2, 3.

<sup>b</sup> Proceedings, 2nd S. i. 234.

<sup>c</sup> Skelton's *Armoury at Goodrich Court*, i. pl. xlv. fig. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Catalogue of the Museum of the Archeological Institute at Worcester (1852), p. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Bonstetten, *Notice sur des Armes et Chariots de Guerre découverts à Tiefenau*, pl. ii.-iv.



frequently straight, though more generally ogee-shaped, and fitting into a corresponding curved bar in the handles. The iron often covered with minute patterns like shagreen, and the blades sometimes stamped with makers' marks, but not with names like the Roman swords found in Denmark and Germany.

The geographical distribution of these swords, or their sheaths, in the British Islands (as far as my knowledge extends) is as follows:—Bed of the Thames, 8; Yorkshire, 5; Lincolnshire, 4; Dorsetshire, 2, besides fragments; Hertfordshire, Cumberland, and Lancashire, 1 each; in Scotland, 2; in Ireland, 2 and some fragments.

Of the three classes into which I have divided these weapons, the first, characterised by bronze sheaths with bifurcate ends and very large loops half way down the backs, seem to have been found only in Britain—that is, England and Scotland—and may be presumed, therefore, to be peculiar to this country. The second class, with broad rounded ends to the sheaths, and the loop towards the upper part, occur both in England and abroad. The third type, more pointed at the end of the scabbard, which is strengthened with a peculiar heart-shaped termination, occurs in Ireland and England, but is more common on the Continent. Whether these varieties of form depend on their being of different ages, or their belonging to different tribes, can only be determined by further research.

Of one thing, however, I feel quite persuaded, which is that they are not Greek, Etruscan, or Roman. They are found associated with other antiquities of a peculiar character, and exhibit ornaments (when sufficiently well preserved) such as occur on numerous other objects to which I have ventured to give the term Late Celtic. I have long had this opinion, and I stated it in 1858 before this Society,<sup>a</sup> and I have since seen no reason to alter it, though it has been combated by Dr. Lindenschmit and others. The term Late Celtic is better suited to this country than to France, where the word Celtic has been much abused. There the corresponding term would be Gaulish, an origin now adopted by most French archæologists for relics of this character.

As to age it is difficult to give a decided opinion; the discovery of a Greek painted vase at Somme-Bionne, Marne, where the warrior was buried with a chariot, carries us back to nearly three centuries before Christ; and interments in chariots, evidently of the same description, are not unknown in our own country, showing (what is evident from other sources) that the same or cognate tribes occupied the British islands.

<sup>a</sup> Proc. iv. 158.

It appears to me that we may safely place the date of these weapons between B.C. 300 and A.D. 100. Abroad commencing perhaps earlier than the date mentioned, but also terminating earlier, they being put out of use by the shorter and more effective Roman sword. In England commencing not later than the introduction of coins, referred by Mr. Evans to B.C. 200-150,<sup>a</sup> and lasting to the time of Claudius or a little later. It is possible that their introduction may be in some measure due to the Belgic invasion, but on the other hand they are more often found beyond the boundaries of the Belgæ than within them.

I have mentioned the contrary views entertained by my good friend Dr. Lindenschmit, whose great services to archæology no one is more ready to admit than myself. It is to him that we owe the creation of the admirable collection of casts and originals that have been brought together in the Museum of Mayence. We owe also to him the publication of the *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, often quoted in this notice.

In the "Beilage" to that work, vol. iii. part i. he has published a treatise on the origin of objects of the early iron age, in which he gives his opinion that most of these objects were imported into the countries where they are found; and at p. 28 he speaks of "the national conceit which claims all the antiquities that do not bear the easily recognised stamp of the Imperial Roman period as evidences of an imaginary ancient British art."

I feel sure that if the learned doctor were better acquainted with our antiquities he would change his opinion. No modern antiquary would suggest an Etruscan origin for the antiquities of this country, and especially of Ireland, notwithstanding the nonsense written by Sir William Betham.<sup>b</sup>

I am quite prepared to admit an Etruscan *influence*, and that it was from the Etruscans that any elements of classical design that are to be found in these antiquities were derived. This was, however, the result of a long series of modifications. The Gaulish inhabitants of the north of Italy would acquire by peaceful intercourse, or during their warlike raids, many Etruscan objects. These they would probably imitate as well as they could. Their next neighbours of cognate races would repeat the operation, each time with a greater divergence from the originals, till at length the strange trumpet pattern of the British bronze-work would come into existence, derived, perhaps, from the well-known wave pattern of the Greeks. Such designs continued down to a late date in Ireland, as shown by illuminated manuscripts; and the agency of those remarkable missionaries, the Scotie or Irish monks, influenced mediæval art both in England and abroad.

<sup>a</sup> Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 26.

<sup>b</sup> *Etruria Celtica*, Dublin, 1842.



The history of Celtic art is, in fact, of the same kind as the history of Celtic coinage, now generally admitted by numismatists. The golden *philippi*, or staters of Philip of Macedon, were copied with some success by the neighbouring barbarians. The type was gradually adopted by other Celtic races, departing further and further from the original, till the wreath of Apollo became an ear of barley, or a crueiform ornament, and the chariot of Victory was reduced to a single horse.

On the other hand, it may be of interest to cite the opinion of our learned Fellow Dr. Thurnam, who has noticed the swords in question in the following passage of his valuable introduction to the *Crania Britannia* :—

Certain curious swords of iron, with hilts and sheaths of bronze, of superior but evidently barbaric workmanship, which probably belong to the transition period to which we refer, can only be regarded as the swords of native Britons. Such have been found in the bed of the Thames ; in three instances in that of the Witham below Lincoln ; at Flasby and Stanwick, Yorkshire ; under a stone-heap at Worton, Lancashire ; at Embleton, Cumberland ; and, lastly, at the foot of the Pentland Hills, near Edinburgh. In two instances these swords were accompanied by others of bronze,<sup>a</sup> showing the contemporary use which would occur in a transition period, such as that to which they are to be attributed. There is a similar variety in their length to that in the bronze swords. One found in the Thames measures fully 3 feet ; that in the Witham, in 1787, nearly as much ; that from Embleton, 26½ inches ; and those from Stanwick and the Pentlands, about 2 feet. Some are ornamented in a grotesque though bold style, with figures of animal heads ;<sup>b</sup> others with coloured enamel, in a manner, however, quite distinct from the Roman or Anglo-Saxon metal-work, but corresponding with that of horse-trappings and other objects from Polden Hill, Stanwick (where one of the swords was found), Annandale, and other places, the manufacture of which is, with much probability, assigned to Central Gaul. On the backs of the scabbards are loops of bronze, generally near the middle, but in two of the largest size at the top, by means of which they could be attached to the girdle, or to brazen or iron chains, such as Diodorus says the Gauls used for this purpose. In two instances the small size of the weapon shows that they are more properly to be regarded as daggers than swords. One of these is from the bed of the Thames, the other from that of the Witham. Both are from localities near which remarkable examples of British bronze shields have been discovered ; so that the contemporary character of the two can hardly be doubted, were it not even proved by the similarity of the peculiar ornamentation, especially in the dagger, sword, and shield from the Witham. The hilt of this dagger terminates in a little imp-like figure, the eyes of which, as well as certain ornamental studs which were gilt, had probably been filled in with enamel.—*Davis and Thurnam, Crania Brit.* p. 91.

<sup>a</sup> These were found in the beds of rivers, the Thames and Witham, and therefore cannot be trusted to prove a contemporary existence of swords of the two metals, especially when they are dredged up and found by workmen without any archæological superintendence.—A. W. F.

<sup>b</sup> This is, I think, an error ; such heads were found at Stanwick, but there is no evidence that they formed part of sword-sheaths.—A. W. F.

X.—*On Wall Decorations in Sectile Work as used by the Romans, with special reference to the Decorations of the Palace of the Bassi at Rome.* By ALEXANDER NESBITT, Esq., F.S.A.

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Read November 24th, 1870.

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It is proposed in the following memoir to do two things: one, to give some account of that species of mosaic decoration which by the Romans was distinguished as “opus sectile,” particularly as applied on walls; the other, to describe the very remarkable building which has afforded by far the most important examples of work of that character of which we have any knowledge, viz., the church of San Andrea in Catabarbara, which was probably originally the great hall or basilica of the palace of the Bassi on the Esquiline hill in Rome.

Those collocations of pieces of stone, glass, or baked clay which we are accustomed to call mosaics may be divided into three classes; first, that in which fragments of stone or glass without any definite shape are fixed in cement and polished down to a smooth surface; second, that in which the pieces are all small cubes; and third, that in which the materials employed are in slices, and are so cut into shapes, geometrical or other, that when put together they form a pattern.

The first kind is still in use in Italy, where it is known as “alla Veneziana.” A good ancient example exists in the “House of the Faun” at Pompeii; this contains many pieces of transparent amethystine and opaque crimson glass. The second kind, called “tessellatum,” as being composed of tessellæ, is too well known to need any description. The third is that which is the subject of this memoir. It was known as “sectile,” for Vitruvius (book vii. c. 1) speaks of sectile pavements as containing “scutulæ” (probably circles), “trigones,” “quadrati,” or “favi” (hexagons), and very many ancient examples of such remain. Several may be seen in the museum at Naples, but perhaps the most striking existing is that of the Pantheon at Rome. Whether any distinctive name was given to that description of sectile work in which the patterns were not geometrical, does not appear. Examples of this last variety, either in



pavements or in wall decorations, are extremely rare, although fragmentary pieces of either are of very frequent occurrence; the non-geometrical patterns were no doubt more costly, and therefore, perhaps, less used in pavements than those of the geometrical class, the comparatively simple forms in which could be produced with less labour.

Such patterns were, however, very largely used in the decoration of walls, and were generally executed in glass; detached pieces are found in thousands in the ruins of villas near Rome, but instances in which the connection and disposition of the pieces can be traced are of extreme rarity; only three, as far as my knowledge extends, in which glass is the material can be cited.

While, therefore, tessellated work, whether in pavements or as decorations for walls, is familiarly known to us, and has been largely illustrated, sectile work, and especially the non-geometrical variety, has been but little noticed, but, as I hope to be able to show, the remains of it which exist, although but very scanty, well deserve the attention of the student of art or antiquity. Those in which figures of men or animals appear have especial claims to notice, but those consisting merely of patterns are also interesting from the fact that they preserve their original colours unaltered, and that we have comparatively very small remains of the polychromatic decorations of the ancients—at least, of those in which variety of colour and form, and not the representation of natural designs, was the primary object.

Before entering into a description of the existing remains it may, however, be well to say a few words on the history of this sectile work.

Pavements made of variously coloured marbles were in use among the Persians; in the Book of Esther (chap. i. 6) mention is made of “a pavement of red and blue and white and black marbles” in the palace of King Ahasuerus at Susa. The Greeks probably learnt from the Persians the art of constructing such work, but no existing monument can be referred to. One instance of the use of coloured glass in architectural decoration in the best period of Greek art, though trifling in itself, is very suggestive; it is in the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens; here pieces of blue glass are inlaid in the plaited torus between the volutes of the capitals of the portico.\*

Pliny (Hist. Nat. book xxxvi. c. 15) mentions a temple at Cyzicus, the walls of which were of polished stone, with threads of gold between the joints; it seems

\* Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. ii. p. 73, note *a*. These authors say “coloured stones or glass,” but Mr. H. March Phillips informed me that he had noticed these decorations, and that they were pieces of coloured glass.

probable that we should by this passage understand not that the building was constructed with plain rectilinear courses of white stone, but that coloured marbles formed patterns on the walls. In the former case the threads of gold would have produced little or no effect, in the second the beauty of the work would be greatly increased by the lines of gold parting off and harmonising the colours of the stones. That the intervention of a line of gold or of white between positive colours has that effect may be seen in many ornamental works of all ages and countries, and, in the case of the incrustations of walls, white lines of mortar often occur between the various pieces of marble, the work having evidently been purposely so constructed; instances of this may be seen in San Giovanni in Fonte at Ravenna and in Santa Sabina in Rome, both of the fourth or fifth centuries of our era.

Of incrustations on walls in glass at Rome perhaps the earliest instance on record is that mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* book xxxvi. c. 15), when he tells us that Scaurus, the stepson of Sylla, constructed a theatre of three storeys, the lowest of marble, the second of glass, and the third of gilded wood. It cannot be supposed that the glass was used in solid masses; doubtless it was attached to the walls in the form of "*crustæ*."

In the time of Cæsar, sectile pavements were in use, as Suetonius (book i. c. 46) states that that general was accustomed to carry with him on his campaigns both tessellated and sectile pavements. Casaubon, in a note on this passage, suggests that what he really carried with him were the materials for making such pavements. It was the practice to place the chair of a Roman official of high rank, *e.g.*, a prætor or a consul, on an ornamented pavement, and it was no doubt with a view to the formation of such pavements that Cæsar carried these materials with him. Very beautiful examples of sectile decoration for walls have been discovered in the recent excavations made by the Emperor of the French in the portion of the palace of the Cæsars at Rome which was built by Nero. These, presenting very ingenious and elaborate patterns made up of forms chiefly non-geometrical, are wholly composed of marbles and granites or porphyries. Glass, however, was about the same time used for the same purpose, as is proved by examples discovered at Herculaneum and preserved in the museum at Naples.

Excavations in the ruins of a villa on the Via Cassia (about four Roman miles from the Porta del Popolo), which is said to have belonged to Lucius Aurelius Verus, the son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius, brought to light a large quantity of these decorations executed in glass. Whether they can be assigned to the period of Lucius Verus or not, is a question not perhaps very easy to decide; my learned



friend Padre Garrucci was of opinion, that, judging from the character of the ornament, a period not very remote from that of Constantine was probably that of their execution. It may however be noticed, that pieces of glass identical in pattern and colour to these are to be found in the mosaics of San Andrea, from which we may infer that the two were constructed at periods not very remote from each other.

In the third century we have distinct reference to such employment of glass, for Vopiseus (in *Vita Firmi*, cap. 3) tells us of Firmus, "*De hujus divitiis multa dicuntur; nam et vitreis quadraturis, bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis, domum induxisse perhibetur.*" From this it would seem that such decorations were deemed uncommon and expensive luxuries when executed in glass, but they would appear to have been more common in marble. Richerius Rhodiginus, a writer of the fifteenth century, says, "*In turribus et decursoriis mœnium Romæ videre est, opere tessellato expicta, distinctaque pavimenta, nec non obductos crustis parietes.*"<sup>a</sup> These "*crustæ*" were doubtless of marbles or porphyries; I have myself noticed the traces of such decoration in towers of that part of the wall which is near the Porta San Giovanni, and which probably dates from the time of Aurelian.

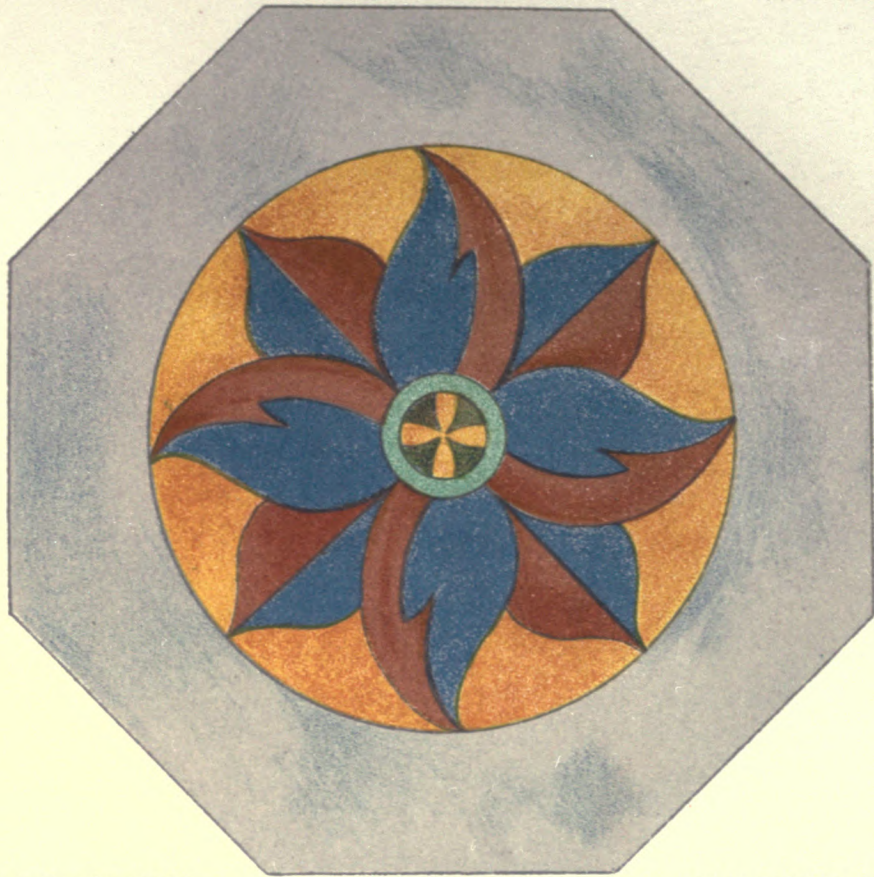
The system of decorating walls by means of incrustations of marbles was largely used in the churches constructed in and after the time of Constantine. San Paolo fuori le Mure at Rome, and probably almost every large church built in the fourth and fifth and sixth centuries, was so decorated; the most remarkable examples remaining are at Rome, Santa Sabina (A.D. 425-450); at Ravenna, San Giovanni in Fonte, the baptistery of the cathedral (fifth century), and San Vitale (sixth century); at Parenzo (sixth century) the Duomo; at Constantinople, Santa Sophia; at Thessalonica, St. Demetrius (early sixth century). In none of these, however, as far as I am aware, is any glass used in the sectile work, although the tessellated work in the same churches is almost or entirely composed of that substance. The materials are chiefly marbles of various colours and porphyries, but brick is employed at San Giovanni in Fonte, Ravenna, and Parenzo, and mother-o'-pearl at Parenzo, and at San Vitale in Ravenna.

From the period of the above-mentioned churches to the present time this system of decoration has continued in use, so far as marble is concerned. Though it may be difficult to cite examples dating from the centuries between the sixth and the eleventh, it is probable that in the territories ruled by the Emperor of the East it was used from time to time. In the eleventh century we find it in

<sup>a</sup> Lect. Ant. lib. 26, c. 32, p. 1,480. Geneva, 1620.

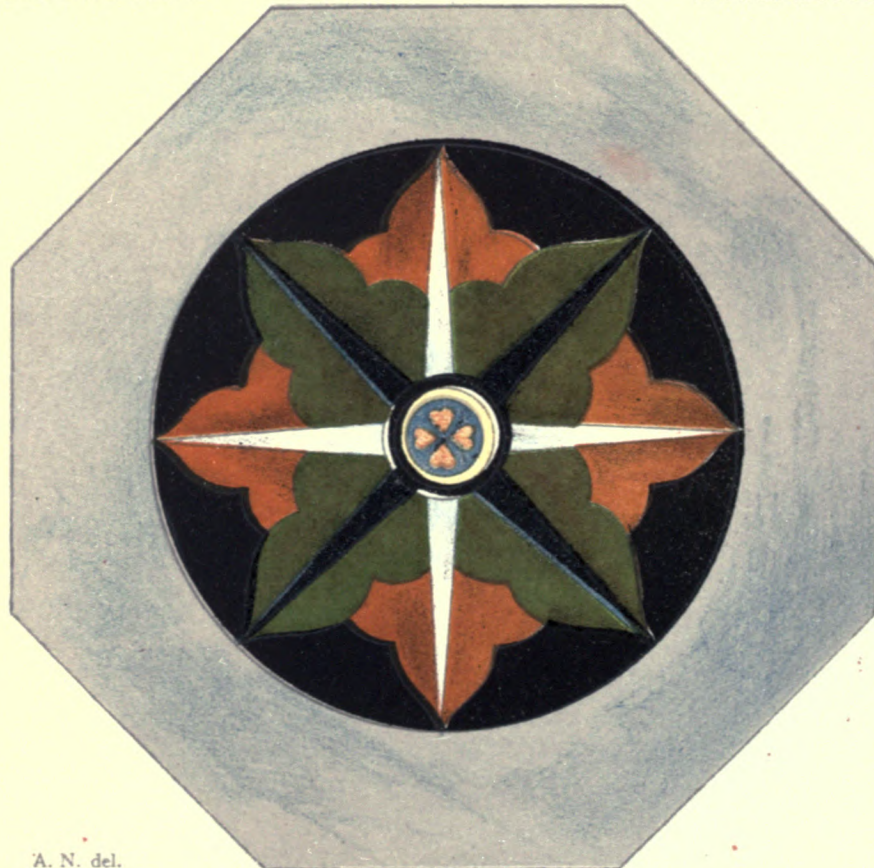






SECTILE GLASS WORK

NAPLES MUSEUM.



A. N. del.



full vigour in the church of St. Mark at Venice, and traces of it in the cathedral of Pisa. In the church of San Miniato, near Florence, it was extensively employed in the same century; and throughout the middle ages, in Tuscany and other parts of Italy, the artists of the period of the Renaissance and those of the succeeding centuries largely used it; one of the most splendid and costly instances of its employment being the still unfinished mausoleum of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany annexed to the church of San Lorenzo at Florence.

I have thus briefly sketched the history of sectile work as used in the decoration of walls; it remains to describe the few existing examples, which are composed wholly or partly of glass.

The examples of sectile work in glass in the museum at Naples (two of which are shown in Plate XVII.) are more elaborate in design and of more careful execution than any others which I have met with, the pieces being accurately shaped and fitted. As each octagon contains from twenty-five to thirty-two pieces, all accurately shaped and fitted together, the cost of such a method of decorating walls must have been excessive, even though we make allowance for the comparative cheapness of manual labour. Each octagon must have required several days' labour to complete, for the pieces are not chipped, but ground to their shapes.

The shades of colour and quality of the glass composing these octagons appear the same as those of some of the fragments so frequently found near Rome.

The designs, it will be seen, are peculiar, and somewhat unlike those which we are accustomed to meet with in classical art. They are said to have been found, with two others of similar character, but different pattern, at Herculaneum, and, if so, belong to the first century of our era.

The next examples in date, if we may believe that they belong to the period of Lucius Verus, are the pieces discovered, as has been said above, in the ruins of the villa, about four miles from Rome, which belonged to him. These were found lying on the floor, and were supposed by the discoverers to have composed a pavement, but it is clear that they are much too thin and fragile for such use. They had no doubt fallen on the floor, in consequence of the decay of the plaster by which they had been fixed on the walls.

Several thousand pieces came into my possession, but many of them were unfortunately broken into so many fragments that it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain what their original form may have been, and consequently to reconstruct the original pattern. Such, however, is not the case with a very considerable quantity, and the pieces so fit together that there can be no doubt that the patterns have been correctly re-composed. Some of these are in the British



Museum, and two examples of the patterns have been engraved in plate vi. of the lately published catalogue of glass in the South Kensington Museum. The prevalent forms of the pieces composing the patterns which have been recovered are triangles, bands, circles, and oblongs, and these can be so arranged as to form squares, divided diagonally by bands, and bordered by other bands. The triangles are generally of brick-red opaque glass; the bands have a ground of the same colour, with circles and dots of opaque yellow or white traversing the substance of the glass, so as to be visible on both sides; the circles contain rosettes of yellow on a red ground; the oblongs are transparent green, with a yellow edge.

These have been carefully ground at the edges so as to correspond exactly in size and to fit accurately. As about forty-five pieces are required to cover a space of five inches square, the amount of labour expended in shaping a sufficient number of these pieces to cover the walls of a moderately-sized room must have been prodigious.

With these were found an immense number of pieces of various sizes, forms, and colours, white, yellow, green, and blue of several shades, which I have not been able to form into patterns with any certainty of having recovered the original order of the pieces; some, however, evidently formed portions of patterns of flowing character such as are frequently seen in classical ornamentation. A few fragments would also appear to have belonged to rosettes similar to those in the museum at Naples.

Two fragments of still more remarkable character came into my hands, one being the upper portion of a female face, the other a part of the figure of a fish.

These are both formed by a somewhat peculiar process; the glass of appropriate colours would seem to have been broken into pieces of the required shape, then were placed on a smooth surface in proper order, and a mass of hot glass pressed upon them so as to unite them into one mass; this process had the advantage over tessellated work that it in some degree blended and softened the outlines of the pieces employed, and the firm union obtained made the figures so formed more durable. The effect of work so executed must have closely resembled that of a drawing executed in the usual antique style with broad washes, and not exhibited the hardness of a mosaic.

The female figure must have measured, if standing, nearly 15 inches in height, the fish 6 to 8 inches in length. Whether the two did or did not form part of the same composition, and what the subject of the composition of which either or both formed a part, must, it is to be feared, be entirely a matter of conjecture. It is greatly to be regretted that no considerable portion of such work remains,









W.GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM.

ROMAN WALL DECORATION IN OPUS SECTILE.  
RAPE OF HYLAS.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1879.*



but it is interesting to observe how much ingenuity and invention the ancient artists brought to bear in the employment of glass.

But by far the most remarkable examples of decoration of this kind are those shown in Plates XVIII. and XIX., and the woodcut on the next page; they indeed seem to be the only existing examples in which figures of men or animals are represented. These and another figure of a tiger are all that remain of the series of decorations of like kind with which the walls of a great hall or basilica erected by Junius Bassus, consul A.D. 317, were covered. In this place I shall confine myself to a description of the materials of which they are formed, and of the methods employed, leaving to the second part of this memoir what has to be said of the building itself, of the relation in which these mosaics stood to it, and of their subjects.

The ground of both the large pictures was originally, doubtless, green porphyry (or as it is commonly called at Rome "*serpentino*"), and still remains so in that representing the rape of Hylas; but in that of the consular procession a great part of the ground is now of the soft stone known as "*Verde di Prato*," so much used in buildings in Tuscany; this having, no doubt, been used to replace pieces of green porphyry which have dropped out; the rocks in the rape of Hylas are of "*alabastro fiorito*" (variegated alabaster); the figures of Hylas and of the nymphs of the marble known as "*giallo antico*;" the hair, I believe, of some variety of alabaster; the *præfericulum* held by Hylas, and the armlets and bracelets of two of the nymphs, of mother-o'-pearl. The water, the blue portions of the garments of the nymphs, and the cloak of Hylas are of glass. The drapery flying out from the nymph on the right of Hylas is of marble, the paler portion of that known as "*palombino*."

The band representing embroidery below the figures of Hylas and the nymphs is wholly of glass, with the possible exception of the green ground on which the small figures are placed; though I know of no marble used at Rome in the classical period which has precisely this tint, I was unable to satisfy myself that it was glass. The figures, which obviously are careless copies of Egyptian originals, are entirely composed of pieces of glass; some of these pieces are throughout of one colour; others, and particularly those forming the draperies, are of varieties of what the Venetians call "*millefiore*" glass, formed by making rods or canes with threads of glass of various colours, so arranged as to present some resemblance to an expanded flower or a section of a coralline; the rods so formed were cut or broken transversely and each section would present the same pattern. These sections were then placed side by side, probably in a mould, and united by



heat ; the mass thus obtained was then heated and worked into vessels, tablets, or the like. Many of the pieces employed in this mosaic are apparently fragments of vessels made of this millefiore glass, which was used in Rome for dishes, plates, and other table utensils, much as we now use porcelain. It was used in immense quantities, as we may learn from the fact that every year thousands of pieces are found about the sites of ancient villas. Doubtless the *Transtiberines*, who, as *Martial* tells us (*Ep. lib. i. 42*), made a living by exchanging sulphur matches for broken glass, sold the fragments of these vessels to the artist in mosaic, while the plain glass was returned to the melting-pot.

It may be worth mention, as having some bearing on the question of date, that one small piece, red, with five white spots, which forms part of the chair of one of the seated figures, is identical with pieces forming part of the decorations of the villa near Rome mentioned above.

The other large picture represents a consul (or other official) clad in the "*toga (or læna) picta*" or "*triumphalis*" of purple and gold, proceeding in his chariot to preside at the games. The white horses are of "*palombino*;" the chestnut of "*giallo antico*;" the stockings worn by the men on horseback of "*palombino*;" the garments as well of these as of the consul of glass ; as also are the trappings



of the horses, with the exception of the discs in the breast and headbands of the horses attached to the biga, which are of mother-o'-pearl. The spokes of the chariot-wheels are, I believe, also of this last material, but my memoranda are deficient on this point.



ROMAN WALL DECORATION IN OPUS SECTILE.





These two mosaics are preserved in the palace of the Prince del Drago at the Quattro Fontane in Rome, which when they were originally placed there belonged to Cardinal Nerli, and has subsequently been known as the Palazzo Albani.

The only other portions which remain of the decorations of this basilica are two compartments preserved in the church of San Antonio Abate, one of which is shown in the annexed cut, reproduced from a photograph. In this the background and the stripes of the tigress are of green porphyry; the remainder of the tigress's skin of giallo antico; the bullock of a pale fawn-coloured marble; the eyes, I believe, of mother-o'-pearl. No glass is to be found in these compartments. The ground appeared to be some variety of alabaster.

In these examples the work has been done in a somewhat rough and irregular manner, for they were placed originally at a considerable distance from the eye; the pieces are not made to fit accurately, and were evidently put together much as they came to hand, the junctions of pieces of the same colour occurring at irregular intervals without regard to the design and wherever convenience dictated. The glass employed is almost all opaque, scarcely any other than the deep blue being transparent.

It is interesting to consider how near an approach was made in these pictures to what we call "painted glass windows;" but, as the system of joining glass by narrow strips of lead was not invented until many centuries later, the idea of constructing transparent pictures, if it ever occurred to the mind of the artists of these mosaics, necessarily remained barren.

At the time that these mosaics were constructed, decorations of like character were probably by no means uncommon at Rome. Herr von Minutoli (*Über die Anfertigung und die Nutzanwendung der farbigen Gläser bei den Alten*, Berlin, 1836, p. 13) tells us that he was informed by Signor Luigi Vescovali that the walls of a chamber in a palace between the gate of San Sebastian and that of St. Paul at Rome<sup>a</sup> were found to be covered up to a man's height from the ground with choice marbles, and above that height with coloured glass plates and arabesques (*mit farbigen Glastafeln und Arabesken*). Signor Vescovali, he says, showed him some figures of "giallo antico" engraved and executed in a very good style; these were originally let into the wall between the glass plates, and many of the appendages, as shields, swords, the tunics or chlamydes, consisted of coloured incrustated (*inkrustirten*, *i.e.* mosaic or millefiori) glasses. Canon Gorio,

<sup>a</sup> Herr v. Minutoli says that the chamber was that the floor of which consisted of the beautiful mosaic now in the museum of the capitol, in which doves perched on the lip of a vase are represented. But this is said to have been found in Hadrian's villa near Tivoli.



he says, showed him at Naples fragments of decorations of various marbles which had been affixed to the walls of two chambers with plates of coloured glass between them.

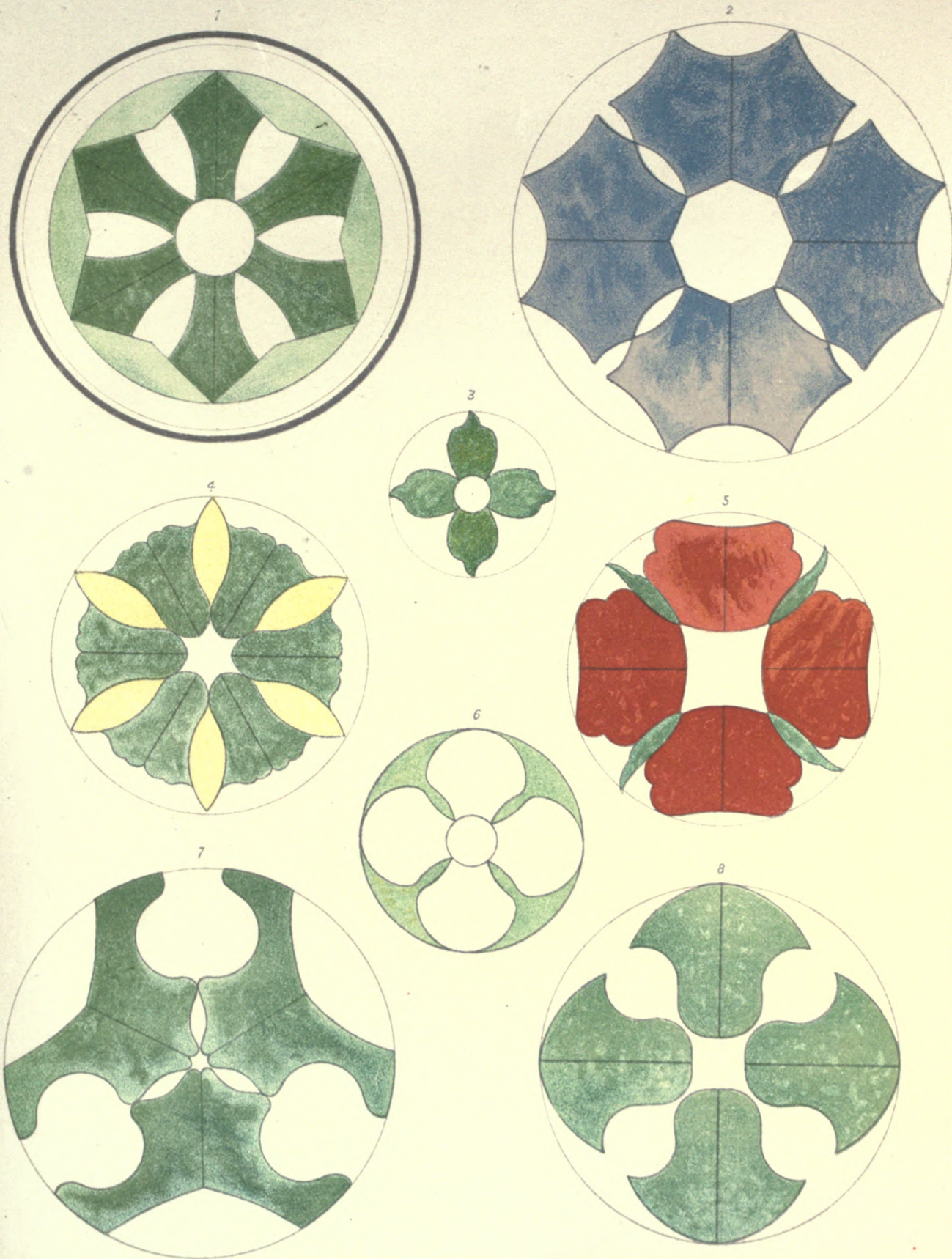
But, although so few examples of sectile wall decoration have been preserved, the practice, as has been already said, of forming such with pieces of glass must have prevailed most extensively in Rome and its vicinity, for even now, after a lapse of some fourteen or fifteen hundred years, thousands of pieces of glass which have formed parts of such decorations are annually found, chiefly in the vineyards and market gardens which surround Rome and occupy the sites of villas. These are of all sorts of colours and forms; red, white, and green are the most common colours; the forms are geometrical, octagons, triangles, squares, portions of circles, or often non-geometrical. Some of these non-geometrical forms are obviously adapted to form parts of the running patterns used as borders in antique work, but others are of shapes the adaptability of which to the formation of patterns is less obvious. I have, however, found that the most puzzling pieces had usually one straight side, and that if two such pieces were joined at these straight sides a figure was produced which might pass as a petal of a three, four, or six-petalled flower. The diagrams in the accompanying plate (Plate XX.) will show how these pieces were in all probability arranged. The coloured parts represent the pieces which exist.

The rosettes thus formed were probably inclosed in octagons, and these combined so as to form patterns of the character which we usually call diapers, repetitions of small parts in a symmetrical manner. Such patterns are not very often met with at Pompeii or in the sepulchres or other remains at Rome, the chief sources from whence we derive our knowledge of Roman wall decoration for domestic purposes. But one instance at Pompeii may be cited; it was found in a house in the Strada di Stabia discovered in 1872; an engraving will be found in Ritcher's *Secrets de l'Art Decoratif*, plate 1.

Having thus described in some detail the examples of sectile mosaic in wall decoration which have come under my notice, I proceed to the history and description of the very remarkable building which has afforded the only examples of this method of depicting subjects into which human or animal forms entered which have been preserved to our time.

The history of this building, from the time when it was converted into a church and dedicated by Pope Simplicius, to that of its destruction, has long been sufficiently well known, but that of the earlier period has been misunderstood.





WALL DECORATIONS OF GLASS.

SCALE OF NO 1.  $\frac{3}{4}$  LINEAR, THE OTHERS  $\frac{1}{2}$  LINEAR.





Cianpini believed it to have been the building known as the Basilica Siciniana (or, more properly, Sicinina), a church supposed to have been constructed out of some hall in the palace of the Sicinian family; but that so-called basilica, there is little or no doubt, was really the same edifice as the church better known as the Basilica Liberiana, or Santa Maria in Presepe, otherwise Santa Maria Maggiore (v. De Rossi, Bull. di Arch. Crist. 1871, p. 19).

The real origin of the building of which I am writing is clearly proved by an inscription which existed in the apse, and was copied in an imperfect state by several antiquaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Pietro Sabino, Ugonius, and De Winghe; but the most perfect text is found in an epigraphical collection, preserved in manuscript in the public library of Sienna. In this it runs:—

IVNIVS BASSVS V. C. CONSVL ORDINARIVS PROPRIA IMPENSA A SOLO FECIT ET  
DEDICAVIT.<sup>a</sup>

This Junius Bassus, Cavaliere De Rossi (Bull. 1871, p. 46) thinks may be confidently asserted to be the Bassus who was consul in A.D. 317. He usually appears in the Fasti Consulares as Septimius Bassus; but this, according to De Rossi, is an error, arising from a confusion made between a Bassus, consul, and a Septimius Bassus, præfectus urbi in the same year, 317.

The grounds on which De Rossi excludes the four Bassi who appear in the Fasti as consuls in A.D. 289, 330 (or 331), 408, and 431, from the number of the probable founders of the building will be found in his memoir (Bull. 1871, p. 44), and will probably be thought tolerably conclusive. As in very many cases the whole of the names of the personages who filled the great offices at Rome have not been preserved to us, it is often impossible to attain anything like certainty as to the family of many—consuls and others—and it has been disputed<sup>b</sup> whether Junius Bassus, consul in 317, and his namesake, prefect of the city in 359, were or were not of the family of the Bassi alluded to in the well-known lines of Prudentius:—

“Non Paulinorum noi. Bassorum dubitavit  
Prompta fides dare se Christo stirpemque superbam  
Gentis patritiæ venturo attollere sæclo.”

(In Symmachum, v. 642.)

<sup>a</sup> Cav. de Rossi warns his readers against the supposition that the building was a temple because the consul dedicated it.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Sac. Vatican. Basil. Crypt. Mon. by P. L. Dionysius, Rome 1773, p. 201.



Cav. de Rossi's opinion is that they were father and son, and of a family of the Gens Junia, known as that of the Bassi.

Had the name of the younger Junius Bassus appeared in the Fasti as consul, the erection of the basilica might have been ascribed to him, but the Bassus, consul in 330 (or 331), appears to have been of the Gens Annia, and those who were consuls in 408 and 431 to have been of the Gens Anicia; it would therefore seem that we must consider the consul of 317 as the founder.

The second stage in its history was also vouched for by an inscription running as follows:—

Hæc tibi mens Valilæ decrevit prædia Xre  
 Cui testator opes detulit ille suas  
 Simplicius quæ papa sacris cælestibus aptans  
 Effecit vere muneris esse tui.  
 Et quod apostolici deessent limina nobis  
 Martyris Andreae nomine composuit  
 Utitur hæc heres titulis ecclesia justis  
 Succedensque domo mystica jura locat.  
 Plebs devota veni perque hæc commercia disce  
 Terreno censu regna superna peti.

These verses record the dedication of the building to St. Andrew after it with the adjacent property had been bequeathed to the church by Flavius Valila, a Goth, who, entering the service of Rome, became "magister utriusque militiæ." He is known by the Carta Cornutiana (Mab. de re Diplom., Paris, 1709, p. 462) to have been alive in 471, and, as Pope Simplicius died in 482 (or 483), the dedication must have taken place between those years.

These verses were placed below the semi-dome of the apse, and over them, in mosaic, figures of our Lord and six apostles standing erect. The original decoration of the apse, though removed from the upper portion, appears to have been allowed to remain in the lower, as the inscription of Junius Bassus retained its place; nor as it would seem were the decorations of the rest of the building meddled with, however unsuited they might be to a church.

It is conjectured that the affix of Catabarbara Patricia, by which this church was distinguished in the eighth and ninth centuries, became attached to it in consequence of its connection with this residence of the barbarian patrician (vide De Rossi, Bull. 1871, p. 25).

Pope Gregory II., it is stated in the Liber Pontificalis, "instituit gerontocomium . . . . monasteriumque juxta positum Sancti Andreae apostoli quod Barbaræ nuncupatur."

In the fifteenth century it was in a condition of decay approaching ruin, for

Platina (*Hist. de Vitis Pontificum, in vitâ Simplicii*), after stating that Pope Simplicius dedicated the church, adds, “*adhuc vestigia quædam antiquitatis apparent, quæ persæpe flendo inspexi, ob incuriam eorum quibus ipsa templa jam ruinam minantia commissa sunt.*”

About the same time the celebrated architect Sangallo made the drawing preserved in the Barberini Library, in a volume dated 1465. A copy of this drawing copied from the *Bull. di. Arch. Crist.* for 1871 is given in Plate XXI.

It subsequently ceased to be used as a place of worship, and its attached monastery was incorporated with the adjacent convent of San Antonio Abate, to which a hospital was attached. Grimaldi, who wrote about 1622, states (*Bull. 1871, p. 18*) that the French monks of St. Anthony, who served the hospital, had conceived the idea that the cements (*mixture glutinum*) by which the incrustations were held to the walls were excellent remedies for fever, and accordingly destroyed the mosaic pictures in order to obtain this admirable medicine! Whatever mischief the monks may have done, time, producing decay of the cement, no doubt did its share, for since the remaining fragments have been better cared for many parts have been lost, and I saw a piece of blue glass drop from the mosaic representing the consul whilst I was looking at it.

The two compartments shown in Plates XVIII. and XIX. were conveyed to the palace of Cardinal Massimi at the Quattro Fontane, now the property of the Prince del Drago.

In the course of this century the decay of the buildings and its mosaics progressed rapidly, and it was dismantled in 1686; but some portions of the walls are said still to remain.

I have thus given a summary of the history of the building which Cav. de Rossi has worked out with that assiduity and almost unrivalled knowledge of all that relates to the antiquities of Rome which distinguish him. It remains to describe the building, its system of decoration, and the still existing fragments of the mosaics which adorned it.

The building is peculiarly worth attention, if we may—as it seems to me we reasonably may—consider it as one of the very few examples of the great state apartment of a Roman house of the first class of which we have any accurate knowledge, and certainly the only one of the internal ornamentation of which we know anything. No house at Pompeii or Herculaneum is of the same character or size as were the palaces of the great patrician families at Rome, and of the imperial palace little is left of the great apartments except foundations.

It is well known that besides the great public basilicas there were vast halls



called basilicas in the important palaces of imperial times: thus, the Villa Gordianorum, near Rome, contained, as we are told by Julius Capitolinus (*Hist. Aug. Gordianus III. c. 32*), three basilicas, each a hundred feet in length. These halls, no doubt, served many of the purposes of the great hall of a medieval house, were places where the clients and dependants could assemble, where the "imagines" of the family were displayed, and where festive solemnities could be held.

Perhaps the only example of a structure of this kind now existing is the basilica of the Sessorium, now the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, near the Lateran. This, though larger, in many respects resembles the basilica of the Bassi; each was an oblong space very lofty in proportion to its length or breadth, and lit by very large windows [near the top; in both a portico of two storeys extended across the front. The sides of the Sessorian basilica were pierced by five large openings on the ground level, divided by piers, or rather masses of wall, while the walls of the other basilicas were unbroken.

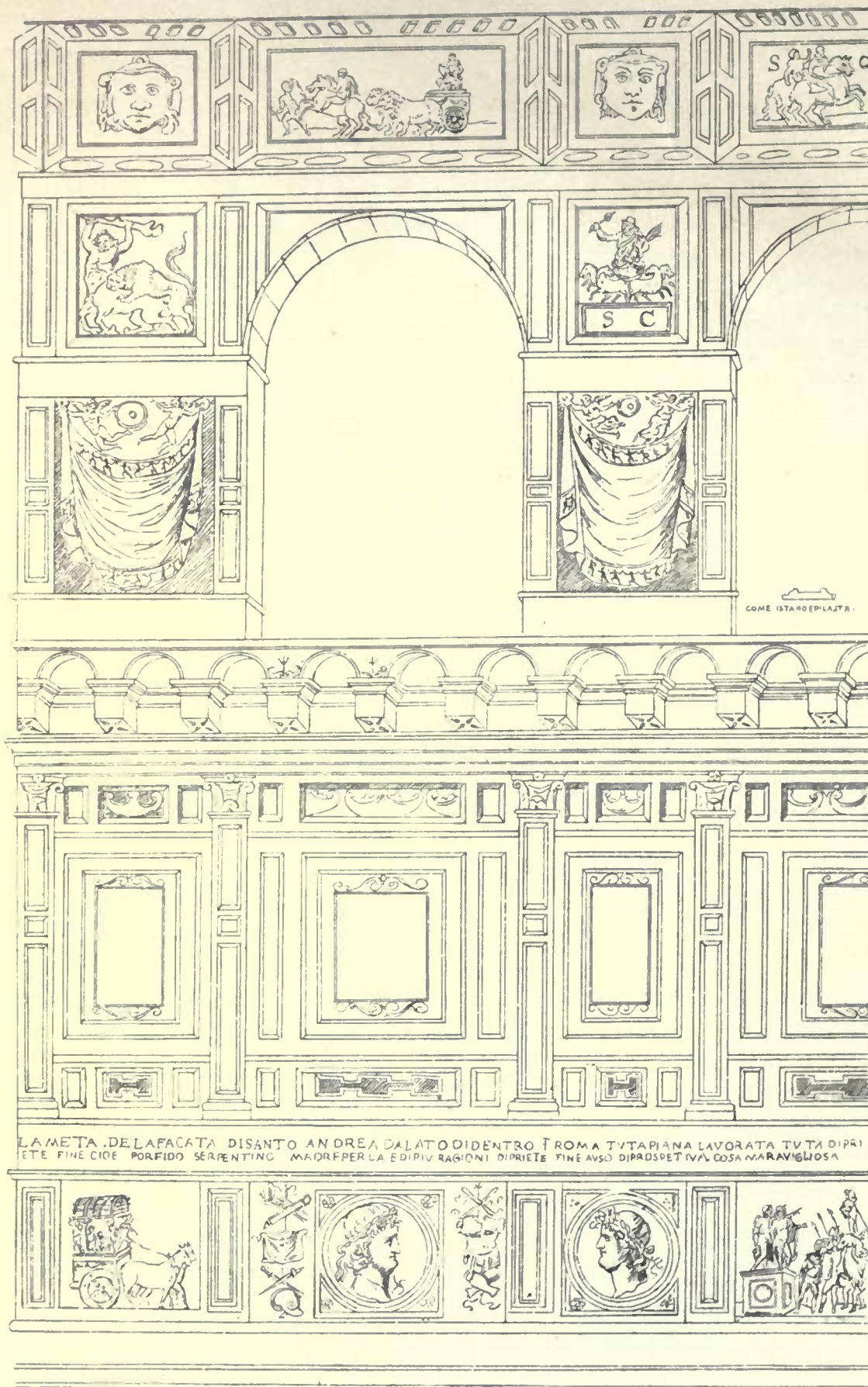
The former was in its original state internally about 115 feet long by 72 wide, and 66 high; the latter is stated to have been about 62 feet long by 45 wide, and 68 high. These dimensions are given on the authority of Hübsch, *Alt Christliche Kirchen*, who states that he derives those of the Bassian basilica from Ciampini (*Vet. Moni.*). That author, however, gives no scale with his engraving of the building, and a comparison of the existing remains of the mosaics with the elevations of the interior of the building by Ciampini and Sangallo leads to the conclusion that it was in reality not more than 45 feet high.

The Sessorian basilica ends in a semi-circular apse, which, however, is not supposed to be of as early a date as the rest of the structure; in the other building under consideration the apse appears to have been part of the original building. The upper storey of each contained, in the first, five windows, about 27 feet high by 15 wide; in the latter, three, which would seem to have measured about 10 feet high by 6 wide. These great windows were no doubt originally fitted with marble slabs pierced with numerous apertures, which may or may not have been fitted with glass (*vide Archæologia*, vol. xl. "On the Churches of Rome earlier than the year 1150," p. 195). In the Bassian basilica, where the walls were completely covered with marbles and glass of bright colours, it seems extremely probable that the windows were also made to contribute to the splendour of the apartment by being fitted with coloured glass.

The Sessorian basilica has undergone so many repairs that scarcely a trace of the original system of decoration can be found, but an accidental opening in the







PORTION OF THE BASSIAN BASILICA, FROM A DRAWING BY SANGALLO.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879.*

W. CRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH, LONDON. & C.

stones with which the great arches in the walls have been closed enabled me to ascertain that the surfaces had been covered with thin slabs of marble of various colours, arranged in patterns, and I have no doubt that the whole interior was, as in the Bassian basilica, covered with decoration of the same sort.

Seeing, then, that these two buildings exhibit so many points of resemblance in plan and in character, and that there is evidence that the Sessorian basilica was formed out of a portion of the palace so-called (*vide Lib. Pontif. in vitâ San Silvestri*), and that it was originally not a church, but a great hall, we may, I think, not hesitate to conclude that the Bassian basilica was also originally the great state apartment, hall, or basilica of a great patrician family, probably bearing the family name of Bassus. This attribution of the building will, I think, appear even more probable when the character of the decorations is considered.

De Rossi has shown that in the eighteenth century the convent of San Andrea was known as the "Massa Juliana," and that Juliana was the cognomen of several matrons ancestresses of the Anicii, Probi, and Bassi of the fourth century. Urlichs (*Beschreibung von Rom. vol. iii. part 2, p. 216*) states that fine ruins of a palace exist near San Antonio Abate but within the bounds of the Villa Negrone. Are these fragments of the palace of the Bassi?

In Plate XXI. is given a reduced copy of Sangallo's drawing already mentioned; the original measures  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length by  $10\frac{1}{4}$  in width. It represents one-half of one side of the interior of the Bassian basilica; from this it will be seen that each side was decorated by twenty-six pictures, or, if the spaces which are left blank once also contained pictures, by thirty-nine. But it is perhaps more probable that these were filled by slabs of precious marbles, and not with mosaics. Of the decoration of the wall at the entrance, or of that at the apse, we only know that in the latter was the inscription in which Junius Bassus is named, and that Ugonius (writing before 1588) seems to write of that part of the building when he mentions incrustations of stones of various colours worked in designs of diverse figures. (*In capo se sale all' altar grande dove e dietro il presbiterio e la sedia di marmo episcopale è tutto incrostato di pietre di varii colori fatte a lavori a disegno di diverse figure, Bull. 1871, p. 14*).

These fifty-two pictures may be divided into four classes, portrait-heads and masks, figures of animals, subjects historical or mythological or relating to the games of the circus, and, lastly, trophies of arms; originally there were, it would seem, sixteen of the first class, six or eight of the second, twenty or twenty-two of the third, and eight of the fourth. There remain in existence none of the first



or fourth class, two of the second, and two of the third, but Sangallo's sketch and Ciampini's engraving have preserved representations (not, it is to be feared, of very accurate character), of two portrait-heads, two masks, one animal figure, seven of the mythological or historical subjects, and two trophies. The heads crowned with laurel-wreaths no doubt portray Emperors, and if the whole series had been before us it would no doubt have materially aided us in an attempt to find an answer to the question—What was the leading idea in the selection and arrangement of these mosaic pictures? But, unfortunately, we know only two of them; one of these decidedly resembles Nero, but in that case, as Cav. de Rossi remarks, we might reasonably expect that the next effigy would represent either his predecessor or his successor, Clandius or Galba, while it bears no resemblance to either. The two, however, bear some resemblance to Titus and Domitian; both of whom belonged to the Gens Flavia; and De Rossi, thinking that the leading idea of these decorations was to do honour to the deeds of the Emperor Constantine, suggests that portraits of emperors or empresses of that family would be appropriately placed among them.

Of the other pictures of the third class perhaps the most important is that on the right-hand of the lower part of Sangallo's drawing; in this it will be seen two figures are shown standing on a pedestal and wearing cloaks and helmets, the foremost of whom is in the act of addressing a crowd of soldiers who parade before him one or more human heads on the points of lances. Dr. Boeck has suggested (*Christl. Kunstblätter*, Freiburg, March, 1869) and De Rossi adopts the suggestion, that this represents Constantine's troops offering their congratulations to him after the defeat and death of Maxentius in 312. Both authors are so fully satisfied with the correctness of this attribution that it serves as the key by which the other scenes are explained.

The Senate, it appears (*Bull.* 1871, p. 49), instituted games to be celebrated in the circus on the 28th and 29th of each year in honour of the "evictio tyranni" and the triumphant entry of Constantine into Rome, and it is thence inferred that the subjects marked with the letters S. C. have reference to the games then instituted; the other subjects, as that of the car drawn by lions and the "carpentum" on the lowest tier of compartments, may, De Rossi thinks, be explained, the first as alluding to the festive procession in which cars carrying images of the gods habitually formed a part, the second as an appendage to the state of a chief magistrate. The figure in the quadriga no doubt represents a victorious charioteer holding the palm of victory.

The figure in the biga De Rossi believes to represent Junius Bassus himself,

setting forth to preside at the games above-mentioned, not, he thinks, at his own consular "editio." The consul dignitary is clad in the "toga picta," or "triumphalis,"<sup>a</sup> which Pliny says was of purple mixed with gold (purpura . . . in triumphali (se. veste) miscetur auro, Nat. Hist. book ix. c. 36). The "purple," it will be seen, is in this instance represented by a deep blue.<sup>b</sup> Possibly this is what Pliny (book ix. c. 39) calls "dibaphas," twice dipped. However this may be, probably the robe exhibits the shade of "purpura" which was at the time the most esteemed. With it, it will be seen, are mixed gold, red, and a pale yellow or fawn colour. This effigy is peculiarly curious, as probably the unique instance in which we have a coloured representation of the consular dress. The consular diptychs of ivory (vide Gori, Thes. Vet. Dipt.) give us many sculptured effigies of consuls from which we may learn what the fashion of the embroidery of the "toga picta" was; usually large rosettes cover almost the whole surface; in that of Basilius, consul in 541<sup>c</sup>, the whole is covered with a pattern of feathers; but of course the colours of the embroidery are not shown in these sculptures.

The chief peculiarity of the costume is that the "lorum,"<sup>d</sup> or embroidered band

<sup>a</sup> De Rossi describes him as "un personaggio insignito del lato clavo o piuttosto della lena senatoria attraverso il petto." But the proper external vestment of the consul on solemn occasions seems to have been the embroidered toga, otherwise called trabea. "Cape tunicam palmatam, togam pictam . . . namte consulem hodie designo, &c.," are the words addressed by the Emperor Aurelian's representative to the newly-nominated consul. (Vopiscus, in vitâ Aurel.) The latus-clavus would seem to have been a tunic with stripes of purple. In vol. i. cap. 1, of Gori's Thes. Vet. Dipt., the consular vestments are treated of at length and with much research.

<sup>b</sup> It is clear from Pliny's Nat. Hist. (book ix. c. 36—39) that red, true purple (i.e., a mixture of red and blue), and blue, were all varieties of "purpura;" one was the "color sanguinis concreti" (the Tyria or Tarentina); there were also the "color violaceus" (cap. 39), the "amethysti color" (cap. 38), and the "color austernus in glauco et irascenti similis mari" (cap. 36), a deep blue; the Mediterranean, it must be remembered, may often be seen, even in a storm, of a dark blue. "Dibapha Tyria," he says, were first used by P. Lentulus Spinter, ædile, A.U.C. 700, in the prætexta (sc. toga). The fashion may have changed, and, indeed, Pliny asserts in the same chapter that Cornelius Nepos said that when he was young "violacea purpura vigeat nec multo post rubra Tarentina. Huic neccessit dibapha Tyria." Dibapha may, however, have always remained the colour appropriated to magistrates. Dalechamps, in a note on cap. 38, says, that Hadrianus Junius, cap. 2 (of his Animadversiones?), asserts that Sextus Pompeius changed the colour of the "paludamentum Imperatorium" from "phœniceum" to blue in honour of Neptune, and in memory of shipwrecks suffered by his enemies. Hadrianus Junius was a Dutch physician of the sixteenth century; it does not appear what his authority for the statement was.

<sup>c</sup> The diptych preserved in the Uffizi at Florence and engraved by Gori (Thes. Dipt. Antic. t. ii., tab. xx.) is generally so assigned, but it, perhaps, more probably is that of Anicius Faustus, consul A.D. 483.

<sup>d</sup> The "lorum" appears to have been originally a scarf, given as a distinction; it is seen in a simple form, on the necks of several of the courtiers of Constantine, in a bas-relief on the arch of that emperor. (Vide Marriott, Vestiarium Christianum, pl. iv.) It is no doubt the same thing as the "orarium," given, according to Trebellius Pollio, by Aurelian, "ad favorem," and from hence originated the pallium of the Western, and ὁμοφόριον of the Eastern, Church. Orarium, as Mr. Marriott has pointed out, probably derives from "Os," and means merely a handkerchief.



worn round the shoulders over the toga, and hanging down in front, does not appear. This is somewhat remarkable, as it is worn by every one of the consuls whose effigy as presiding at the games is preserved to us on a diptych. It might appear to be absent from the figures on the diptych of Monza, dating from circa A.D. 600, which represent Pope Gregory the Great and King David in the consular costume: if we were to judge from the engravings in the second volume of Gori, these are, however, not quite correct; but, though the lorum is indistinctly marked round the neck, the dependent band is very clearly shown across the chest and at its lower end. Junius Bassus however may possibly not have received this mark of imperial favour. A part of the right arm of the figure supposed to represent him is of a paler colour than the rest, and appears to be unclathed. Probably this is a substitution in marble for the glass which originally represented the sleeve of the "*tunica palmata*," and which has fallen out. It would, however, be unsafe to assume as certain that the personage here represented was a consul, for the wearing of the consular vestments, it should seem, was allowed at the celebration of the games in the circus to other dignitaries beside consuls; *prætors* (vide Juvenal, Sat. x. v. 36), *ædiles*, in fact the "*editores*" generally, of whatever official rank they might be, appear to have worn the toga *pieta* and the *tunica palmata*, when presiding at the games which they exhibited (vide Bulengerus, *De Circo Rom.* &c. cap. xlii. xliii).

The official, it will be seen, is attended by four men on horseback, dressed in short tunics with sleeves, in two eases of colours different from those of the body, breeches with knee-caps and bandages round the legs; the heads of three of the figures appear to be covered by close-fitting caps. This dress, though at first sight somewhat unclassical, appears to have been (except as regards the caps) usually worn by those who fought with beasts in the arena. It is distinctly shown in the dress of the men fighting stags on the diptych in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool, attributed to the consulship of Marcus Julius Philippus, A.D. 248, and somewhat less so in that of men fighting with lions on the diptych of Areobindus, A.D. 506; in this last instance the knee-caps seem to be pretty distinctly marked, but the thighs would seem to be naked and the legs only partly covered; the execution is, however, too rough to admit of any certainty as to the intentions of the sculptor. The caps and leg bandages are worn by the charioteers on the diptych at Brescia inscribed "*Lampadiorum*." (Gori, vol. ii. pl. xvi.) It will be observed that the tunics are of various colours, red, blue, green, and white or grey; the first and last have green sleeves. These, no doubt, are the liveries, so to speak, of the "*factiones*" of the circus, the companies into which the

charioteers were divided. They were four in number, representing the four seasons of the year, or the four elements; the "prasina" (from *πρασον*, a leek), green, representing spring or earth; the "russata," red, summer or fire; the "veneta," blue, autumn or water; and the "alba" or "albata," winter or air. Domitian added two others, gold and silver (Xiphilinus, *Lut*, 1551, p. 219) or gold and purple (Suetonius, *cap. vii.*); but this innovation does not seem to have lasted long. For several centuries the contests of the factions had an importance in Rome, in Constantinople, in Alexandria, and in some of the cities of the East, to which modern times afford no parallel; emperors wore the liveries of their favourite faction (*e. g.*, Nero that of the *factio prasina*), and the most furious tumults and seditions (often, no doubt, not unconnected with political matters) were excited in the circus by one or other of them. In the great sedition at Constantinople, in the fifth year of the emperor Justinian, A. D. 532, thirty thousand people are said to have been slain in the hippodrome (*vide* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, *cap. xl.*). So many are the passages in classical writers, so many the historical occurrences and the personal anecdotes which have reference to these factions, that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that to detail them in full would almost fill a volume. Those who may wish to pursue the subject will find it treated of by Panvinus (*De Ludis Circensibus*, *lib. 1, cap. x. xi.*), and by Bulengerus (*De Circo Rom. Ludisque Circensibus*, *cap. xlviii. xlix.*), and succinctly by Gibbon as cited above.<sup>a</sup>

So far as my knowledge extends, the mosaic under consideration is the only extant monument in which these celebrated colours appear.

The question remains, what is the office of these equestrians? That they wear the colours of the four factions certainly suggests a connection with the chariot-races, for I am not aware that any passage in any classical author proves that the horse-races were conducted, like the chariot-races, by the starting of representatives of each faction; such, however, may have been the case; but the fact that they carry in their hands objects resembling racquets is opposed to the supposition that they represent jockeys, for no such objects are to be found in connection with any of the numerous figures representing men racing on horseback which may be found on antique monuments. If they had been without these

<sup>a</sup> One curious anecdote, which will not be found in the authors quoted, deserves mention. Pliny (*Nat. Hist. lib. x. c. 24*) tells us that Cæcina, a knight and "quadrigarum dominus," was accustomed to announce to his friends at Volterra, his native city, the result of the race, by releasing swallows brought from that city, "*illito victoriæ colore*," with the colour of the winning faction smeared on them, which flew back to their nests. Domini factionum are mentioned by Suetonius (*In Nerone, c. 22*), and others. The story seems to suggest that the citizens of Volterra were accustomed to put money on the races.



instruments I should have been disposed to think that they represented the mounted men who are to be seen in many, though not in all, the sculptures in which chariot-races are the subjects (v. Panvinus, *De Ludis Circensibus*, &c. in Grævius, *Thesaurus Antiq. Rom.* T. ix. pp. 96, 183), accompanying each chariot and assisting in urging on the horses, but these in no case hold anything more than a whip, and more usually not even that.

Unfortunately, the objects held by the horsemen are so ill-drawn and ill-defined that it is difficult to ascertain what they were intended to represent. Their proportionate length may be assumed to be about four feet, and they have been supposed to represent musical instruments, or "*cornua abundantiae*"<sup>a</sup> from which largesses were scattered among the crowd. They would certainly seem to be intended to represent some instrument with an open mouth, but three are drawn so as to show a reticulation occupying, not the whole, but some part of the surface of the lower end, just in fact as a racquet might be drawn; had not the extremity been so drawn as to suggest a cup-like termination I should have had no hesitation in believing that racquets were the objects intended, and that the riders were about to engage in a game of what we now call polo, in which balls are driven to a goal by mounted men equipped with sticks or racquets. Such a game was certainly played at Constantinople not very long after the date of this mosaic, for Theodosius the younger, according to Codinus, made the *τρυκανιστηριον*,<sup>b</sup> the place where the game was played, near the great chrysotriclinium of the palace. If we may venture (as Ducange is disposed to do) to believe

<sup>a</sup> Cav. de Rossi says that they resemble the horns from which coins are poured by boys, as shown in a piece of woven stuff in the Louvre (*Mélanges d'Archéologie*, tom. iv. pl. xx.), but the "*cornua*" in this case are rhytons ending in animals' heads, and very unlike the instruments in the mosaic.

<sup>b</sup> Ducange has written a long dissertation—"De l'exercice de la Chicane ou du Jeu de Paume à cheval" (one of those on the history of St. Louis)—on the subject of this game; he is much puzzled to find a proper etymological derivation for the word, declining to accept that which some one had proposed, from the English "*chicquen*" (because fowls run after and persecute one of their number which has caught up a dainty morsel); but, finding that *mall* was played in Languedoc under the name of "*jeu de la chicane*," he expresses an opinion that it originated in France and was carried thence to Byzantium. The verb used by the Greeks to express playing at this game was *τρυκανίζειν*, and this no doubt derives from a root in some oriental dialect (perhaps the same as that from which comes the Turkish "*shaka*," game), for the game is called in Persia as well as in India *Choghān*. Our name for the game, "*Polo*," is derived from Little Thibet, where it seems indigenous and national; *polo* in the language of that country means a ball. John Cinnamus gives a full account of the manner in which the game was played, the Greek text of which is given by Ducange, and an English translation by F. Drew (*The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 380). Cinnamus remarks on the game that it is conducive to falls and altogether dangerous, an observation the truth of which has been shown by many fatal accidents in ancient times at Constantinople and in India, and in modern, in India and in England.

that the "Sphæromachia" mentioned by Seneca in Ep. 80 was played by men on horseback, we may go back to the first century for its use at Rome; but the games played with balls at Rome would seem to have been mostly played by men on foot. At Constantinople polo was played with racquets, which John Cinnamus, a writer of the twelfth century, minutely describes as having at one end a rounded space filled with a net-like arrangement of cat-gut.

In Ciampini's engraving four other figures are given, now wanting. These were in two groups, each consisting of two figures; one in each is in a crouching or almost prostrate attitude, and is being struck apparently with a double thong by the other; some small objects, two of which seem to be horn-shaped vessels with handles, and others baskets or small panniers, are scattered about. De Rossi (p. 47) thinks that these figures represent the manumission of slaves, of which ceremony the giving a slight blow formed a part; the attitudes of the actors, however, seem inconsistent with this explanation, for one of the strikers is kneeling, and in both cases they are in violent action, moreover their costume is just the same as that of the mounted men. I should rather be disposed to think that some game is intended to be represented, or are the small objects scattered about "*sportulæ*," in which doles were distributed, and the figures representatives of the mob scrambling for them? The costume of the figures seems however rather opposed to this supposition.

The companion picture which remains, the rape of Hylas, would seem to be represented as if it formed the central or at least the most important part of the decoration of a piece of tapestry hung upon the wall; the folds of this tapestry appear below, and on each side of the picture; about one-half of the part below the picture has perished since the drawing from which Ciampini's engraving (Vet. Mon. tom. i. tab. xxiv.) was taken was made. In this engraving it is shown as ending with a semi-circular sweep on which is a border of small figures of Egyptian divinities of the same character as those in the upper border. If the intention of the artist were to make the picture a part of the tapestry, it should seem that the entire piece must have been circular, but if the picture be considered as independent, and the tapestry as hung on the wall in front of it, the cloth may have been rectangular. It would, however, be very unsafe to draw inferences too decidedly from work of this character, much must of course be allowed for pictorial licence.

It is in favour of the supposition that the picture is to be regarded as a part of the tapestry, that the ground of it and of the remainder is the same, viz., green porphyry.



The engraving of the consular subject given by Ciampini (tom. i. tab. xxiii.) shows that a like representation of tapestry occupied the space at the sides of and below the picture, but this has wholly perished.

These draperies, as Cav. de Rossi has pointed out (p. 57), are no doubt representations of the "*tapetia Alessandrina*," esteemed in Rome in the time of Plautus,<sup>a</sup> and not less so in the time of the Empire. It is not the least interesting point in these mosaics that they have preserved for us so minute a portraiture of these tapestries, the "*polymita*" (*i.e.*, woven of many threads), which Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 48) tells us were invented at Alexandria, and which are alluded to by Martial and others.

Dr. Birch has informed me that, though an Egyptian original was no doubt copied, the representations of the divinities are inaccurate, and cannot be assigned with any certainty to any known Egyptian deities, and that the work has evidently been designed and executed by artists without correct knowledge of the art or of the religion of Egypt.

Two compartments in which like tapestries are introduced appear in Sangallo's sketch; in these winged figures, in one nude, in the other clothed, seem to uphold the ends of the drapery, and Ugonius describes another as representing an Apollo standing with men around him.

Cav. de Rossi calls attention to the fact that these tapestries, or *vela*, are represented as if hanging on the walls, not in archways or in doors; of this latter use of such draperies we have abundant examples, but this he thinks shows that they were used not only as door, but as wall, hangings.

The representations of animals we may also consider as placed in allusion to the "*venationes*" which formed part of the games in the circus, though the presence of the hippocentaurs can hardly be so explained. Figures of lions, tigers, or other ferocious beasts tearing their prey were favourite subjects with Roman artists, probably in most cases because they were grand and terrible objects, and without any special reference to the games. M. Ampère, however, somewhat oddly suggests that the tiger is probably a portrait of some animal well known as having often appeared in the circus." Ciampini states that this and the companion figure, also preserved in the church of St. Anthony, occupied the places where the winged centaur and the charioteer appear in Sangallo's drawing.

<sup>a</sup> "*Alexandrina belluata conchyliata tapetia*." Pseud. act 1, sc. 2, v. 14

<sup>b</sup> "*Le tigre . . . est selon toute apparence le portrait d'un acteur renommé. Pourquoi les tigres n'auraient-ils pas en leurs portraits à Rome, les gladiateurs qui n'étaient pas beaucoup moins féroces que les tigres y avaient bien les leurs ?*" (Ampère, *l'Histoire Romaine à Rome*, vol. iv. p. 28.)

Ciampini probably was in error, having only heard that they had been so placed after they had been detached, while Sangallo made his drawing no doubt on the spot. Ciampini has also given an engraving of a winged hippocentaur, which probably occupied a similar place; this appears to have been copied from a sketch by Ciacconi, which still exists in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (No. 5,407).

I have thus given a summary description of such of the mosaic pictures which formerly covered the walls of San Andrea as we know anything of. With the exception of the subject of Hylas, and of the two corresponding compartments shown in Sangallo's sketch, the choice of subjects seems to tally pretty well with the suggestion of Dr. Bock mentioned above, especially if we regard the Hylas and like subjects and the groups of animals merely in the light of ornamental accessories. The Romans do not appear to have been severely strict in carrying out a scheme of decoration in accordance with one leading idea, but rather, like their imitators the artists of the Renaissance, to have allowed their decorators to give the reins to their fancy, and to paint any subject, any animal, or thing, rather because they deemed it beautiful than because it was appropriate. The tapestries were in this case obviously merely ornamental, and it is perhaps not surprising that the subjects placed above them should also have been chosen merely on account of their decorative character. Perhaps this view of the matter yields support to the supposition that all these, which I may call tapestry compartments, belonged to some earlier building, and that one group of figures was destroyed in order to make way for the consul. It is however possible that this was not done when the building was erected in 317, but at some later period, when some descendant wished to exhibit the effigy of his ancestor the consul or other high official on the wall of his state apartment. Thus we may perhaps better account for the strange badness of style, which, so far as we know, seems peculiar to that compartment; the rest of the pictures, so far as we can judge from the slight sketch of Sangallo, would seem to have been of tolerably good style, and are infinitely better executed than the consular group, and, indeed, show the characteristic qualities rather of a living and vigorous than of a feeble and decaying art.

Cav. de Rossi, whose opinion on such a subject is entitled to the greatest respect, considers that the style of the group of the consul is evidently that of the fourth century, and that the subject of Hylas is earlier, but not so early as the time of Hadrian, to which some have been disposed to refer it. If, however, I am right in thinking that the style of the greater part of the mosaics was as good as that of the Hylas it would seem difficult to suppose that they were not made in 317 for the places which they occupied; that many mosaic pictures should



be detached from an earlier building, and that a new one should be constructed and arranged with a view to receive them, seems hardly probable; and we are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that the building and mosaics of good style were coeval, and that the exceptionally ill-drawn figures of the consul and his attendants are of a later period and inserted in place of some subject of mythological character. This supposition may derive some confirmation from the almost identity in the drawing of the car and horses in the mosaic, and in a like subject on the embroidery of the lorum worn by Anicius Faustus (consul A.D. 483) as shown on the diptych preserved in the Uffizi at Florence (vide Gori, *Thes. Dipt. Antiq.* t. ii. tab. xx.) If we attribute the mosaic to the period of the diptych, the fifth century, we may explain the presence of the polo-players by the supposition that Theodosius the Second, having introduced the game into Constantinople (v. p. 286 *ante*) the consul (?) shown in the mosaic was the first to exhibit it in the Roman circus. Some may however perhaps be disposed to attribute the badness of style of this picture to the haste with which it was prepared, or to the inferiority in skill of the artist who executed it, rather than to the late period of its fabrication.

Too much reliance, I think, is often placed on goodness of style as a criterion of date, and too little regard paid to the difference in skill and taste between one artist and another, and to the probability that work hurriedly executed will be badly designed and badly executed. Thus those sculptures on the Arch of Constantine at Rome, which were executed at the time of its erection, show a degree of badness of style altogether astonishing; far better sculpture was executed long after, as may be seen in many of the Christian sarcophagi, *e.g.*, in that of Junius Bassus, prefect of the city (ob. 359), in the crypt of St. Peter's.

Our museums, of course, contain for the most part work of good character, poor examples, though dating from a good period, being rejected; but whoever at Rome examines all the fragments of sculpture which he sees will be convinced that much bad work was produced at periods when that of the best artists was excellent.

In favour of the supposition that the consular subject is contemporaneous with the others it may be mentioned that there is no difference in the materials or the method of execution. In order to give the details this subject has been represented in the plate on a scale about one-third larger than that of Hylas, but they are really of about the same size, the consular subject measuring 3 ft. 7 in. in width, that of Hylas 3 ft. 9 in. exclusive of the folds of drapery on each side.

These mosaics, it may be remarked in conclusion, occupy a somewhat important

place in relation to the history of the art of painting, as well as of that of mosaic work. Kugler, in his *Handbook of Painting* (English translation, vol. i. p. 20), makes the following observations:—"We own that the middle links between the small cabinet pieces in mosaic which the relics of Pompeii and of imperial Rome have preserved to us, and the suddenly-commencing wall-mosaics of Christian origin, are yet wanting. The temples, palaces, and baths of the later emperors contain innumerable wall-paintings, stuccoes, and mosaic pavements; but as far as we know no mosaic work on ceilings or walls. Pliny, it is true, distinctly tells us (xxxvi. 64) that mosaic work, proceeding as it were upwards from the pavement, had recently taken possession of the arches above them, and had since then been made of vitrified substances; also that mosaic work had been made capable of expressing every colour, and that these materials were as applicable for the purposes of painting as any other. But the few existing specimens, exceeding the limits of the pavement and the small wall-picture, are of a purely decorative style without figures. We are almost tempted to believe that historical mosaic painting of the grander style first started into life in the course of the fourth century, and suddenly took its wide spread,<sup>a</sup> borne on the advancing tide of the triumphant Christian faith."

Kugler, in a part of the above passage which I have omitted, remarks on the absence of such decorations from the ruins of the baths of Diocletian and like edifices, but all these have for very many centuries been in such a state of decay that whatever decorations may have once covered their walls and vaults must have dropped from them at a period long before that in which antiquaries began to notice and describe the remains of antiquity.

The mosaics of the basilica of Bassus clearly go some way to bridge over the chasm in the history of painting to which Kugler adverts; they are on the one hand allied to the small mosaic pictures of the Roman villas by their pictorial character, and on the other approach the early Christian mosaics in the increased size of the figures, and the prominence given to them by the comparative simplicity of the composition and the absence of a pictorial background. The bust portraits of the emperors were, it will be seen, colossal, nearly three feet in height.

It has been already shown on the authority of Von Minutoli (p. 275 *ante*) that decorations of a like character existed elsewhere at Rome, and it is easy to see how the artists accustomed to see and to execute such designs should conceive the idea of the colossal figures which we find in the Christian mosaics.

<sup>a</sup> This last sentence does not appear in the English edition of 1851; I borrow it from the article *Mosaics*, in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*.



On this ground, if on no other, and as the sole surviving examples of all the perished splendour of decoration of this kind which once adorned the palaces of Imperial Rome, these mosaics will, I think, be deemed to merit more attention than they have hitherto received.

It only remains to add that engravings of these mosaics have already been given by several authors, but in no instance with accuracy. Ciampini (tom. i. tab. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.) has engraved a winged centaur, the two tigers, the consular subject, and that of Hylas, but the drawing is very rough and careless; Sante Bartoli (*Recueil de Peintures Antiques*, Paris, 1757) has given the consular subject in colour, not very accurately;\* Von Minutoli (*Über die Anfertigung und die Nutzenanwendung der farbigen Gläser bei den Alten*, Tab. iv.), a coloured plate of the Hylas on a good scale and with fair approach to accuracy. The plates which accompany this memoir are reduced by photography from drawings made for the writer in 1870, by the courteous permission of the Prince del Drago, obtained by the kindness of Lord (then Mr.) Odo Russell, the representative of England at Rome.

The drawings were made of the size of the originals by an artist who had shown his competency for such work by drawings made from the frescoes at San Clemente and elsewhere, and who worked under strict injunctions of fidelity and accuracy.

The tigress seizing a bull is reproduced from a photograph taken from the original.

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#### POSTSCRIPT.

While this communication was passing through the press I received from Edmund Oldfield, Esq. F.S.A. a letter on the subject of the Mosaics in the Bassian Basilica, which, coming from one so competent to give an opinion in this matter, I have obtained his consent to append to my paper. Mr. Oldfield writes as follows :—

On the whole, I see no reason for materially changing the opinions which I ventured to express in my former letter on the question of the mosaics.

I will notice the chief points in detail, but must first premise that all my opinions are offered with much hesitation, from the disadvantage which I feel—

\* Both Ciampini and Sante Bartoli's engravings would seem to have been taken from the drawings of the well-known antiquary Cav. del Pozzo.

(1) In only knowing the original monuments from your chromoliths and engravings, which cuts off all the important evidence derivable from the technical method in which the designs are executed and finished ; (2) in not having had time or opportunity to consult any of the authorities to which De Rossi refers, nor, indeed, any of the ordinary books on ancient art which I should make use of if I were in London, but which are not now within 100 miles of my reach ; and (3) in having never yet seen your paper, but gathering your opinions only from your letters.

I. Notwithstanding all you justly say of the uncertainties of good and bad art in all periods, I still cannot believe that either the Hylas or the tigress could have been genuine productions of Constantine's time. As regards the Hylas, I find, curiously enough, that Minutoli referred it, like me, to Hadrian's reign, though the idea of connecting the myth with Antinous seems not to have occurred to any one till now. I do not *insist* on the suggestion of Antinous, nor on the limit of Hadrian's reign ; but I agree with De Rossi that the style of design belongs to the second rather than the fourth century, so that we are driven to assume some abnormal circumstance to explain its being found in Junius Bassus' building. I feel the same quite as strongly as to the tigress. In its own line it has greater merit and power, as I think, than the Hylas. The energy and passion of the tigress' face, the firm and truthful grasp of her forepaws, the undulating lines of her body, in which every muscle is at work, the helpless drop of the poor victim on its hind legs, all indicate the hand of a master. One part only is a failure, the near hind leg of the tigress. Assuming that the fault is not in the engraving, nor due to a bad restoration, but in the original work, then the nature of this defect, and its *possible* cause, seem to me worthy of consideration. What the limb requires is merely fore-shortening, a thing only to be attained by delicate modelling, nice gradations of tint, and especially of light and shade. Some of the mosaics of Pompeii, and most of all the so-called "Battle of Issus," exhibit the boldest foreshortening in the limbs of animals, expressed without a flaw. But these are in tessellated or vermiculated work ; *opus sectile*, or marble tarsia (unless hatched, and inlaid with composition like niello, as in the pavements at Siena), does not admit of modelling, so that, if the leg of the tigress were formed of a single plaque of marble (to put an extreme hypothesis, for illustration's sake), the outline might be perfectly correct, yet, the inner surface being necessarily false, the whole would be a failure. You will see presently why I dwell on these details.

II. As to the consul, all seem to agree that it is so inferior to the Hylas (and,



as I should add, to the tigress also) that the designs could not have been contemporary, or anything near it. De Rossi, who believes the consul to be of Constantine's time, solves the difficulty by assuming that the Hylas was cut from the walls of some older building. You, who seem inclined to attribute the Hylas to Junius Bassus' artists, suggest that the consul might have been interpolated in the fifth century, about Valila's time. I see no objection to this suggestion as regards the consul. It is just one of those semi-barbarous works to which your views as to uncertainty in date may fairly apply. Regarding it in an artistic light alone, it might be referred indifferently to the beginning of the fourth or middle of the fifth century. But observe, that though (as I think I have before written to you) bad art is of all periods, yet good art is not; and this is why I cannot admit that by carrying the consul down to the fifth you become entitled to assign the Hylas to the fourth century, merely because this allows an interval of 150 years or so between the two. From its own intrinsic evidence, quite irrespective of any date you may determine for the consul, the Hylas must, in my opinion, have been from a design of not later, and perhaps earlier, than the second century, though whether its discovery in the same building with the consul is to be explained by De Rossi's suggestion still remains to be considered.

III. As to all the other decorations, which we only know from Sangallo's drawing, I quite agree with you that their artistic style resembles the Hylas rather than the consul, and that his overlooking this circumstance is a great flaw in De Rossi's argument. It is right, no doubt, to bear in mind that the older artists, before archæology became a science, never copied faithfully, but represented everything in the best possible (that is, their own) style. Still, the general composition of groups, and the selection of subjects, may be pretty well relied on. At any rate, as we have no other and more trustworthy evidence remaining, we must perforce accept Sangallo's rendering; and on this authority I conclude that some theory must be found whereby all the designs except the consul may be grouped together with the Hylas as belonging to an earlier parentage, and the consul alone to a later.

IV. If this view be correct, and if the Hylas be, as De Rossi himself supposes, of the second century, then, as you have pointed out in your letter, his explanation of the other subjects, as composed in honour of Constantine, falls to the ground. But even if we are wrong in this view, and if the Sangallo subjects may be judged of independently of their artistic style, I fail to see the force of the arguments for the Maxentian interpretation.

The subjects themselves are heterogeneous, partly mythological, partly historical, partly spectacular, with some minor parts purely decorative. Had it not been for the inscription which De Rossi has made out from the MS. at Siena, and which he shows to relate to a consul of A.D. 317, there would have been nothing whatever to suggest any connection with Constantine. Assuming his identification of the consul and the date to be correct (on which I do not presume to form any opinion, not having investigated the point), still it by no means appears that the motive of the whole series was to commemorate the reigning Emperor's victories, or that amongst these that of the Pons Milvius was specially selected. To De Rossi, indeed, and in a more or less degree to all Christians, this victory, with the legend of the miracle which preceded it, surpasses all others in interest. But why should it do so to Junius Bassus? If he were a pagan, it would have been pain and grief to him. If a Christian, then surely he would have introduced some symbol allusive to the cross, such as speedily appeared on standards and shields. The only subject in the series which seems to me specially appropriate to the Maxentian victory is that in which soldiers are exhibiting a head on the point of a spear. But throughout the Empire such exhibitions were too common to justify us in appropriating this incident positively to any one person. In like manner, games given by order of the Senate were too frequent events to furnish proof that the S. C. below the charioteer must refer to the games given on the Maxentian triumph. On the whole, the historical arguments which De Rossi has adopted from Böck seem to me too fanciful and ambiguous to stand against the evidence of style which Sangallo's drawings, in accordance with the actual remains of the Hylas and the tigress, furnish in favour of an earlier date.

What theory, then, finally, can I suggest to reconcile all the difficulties? I can only offer a conjectural one, which I shall be quite willing to withdraw if good evidence is produced against it. It is that Junius Bassus erected and dedicated the building, though to whom or for what he has not told us (as he probably would have done, had he wished it to be a compliment to or memorial of the all-powerful Emperor);—but that the artists he employed, incompetent to design anything of original merit themselves, copied the mural decorations of an earlier and better age. Their models were not all taken from one building or of one date; but the Hylas taken from one of Hadrian's monuments, the tigress, perhaps, from an earlier work, the two emperors' heads (if we may so far rely on Sangallo) from a building of the first century, and the other subjects from remains the period of which cannot now be exactly fixed. And now my hypo-



thesis goes one step further. It supposes that the originals were executed] either in fresco or in true mosaic, tessellated or vermiculated. But this latter elaborate art having declined in Constantine's time (as witness the mosaics of S. Costanza), or being perhaps too costly, the easier and cheaper, but less artistic, process of *opus sectile* was adopted. Or possibly even (if this be not over-refining) the Hylas might, as De Rossi supposes, have been cut from some earlier building, and the other subjects, though copied from true mosaics, have yet been executed in *opus sectile*, merely for conformity with the Hylas. From whatever motive it was done, the tigress, being executed in a method for which it was not originally designed, presents a correct outline, but faulty surface, and therefore no true foreshortening, in the limb already mentioned.

Thinking, as I do, that De Rossi has failed to establish any monumental motive in the building, I find no difficulty in supposing that Junius Bassus brought together any illustrations of mythology, history, games, or animal life, which suited the purpose (or perhaps merely the available wall-spaces) of his building, whatever it was, whether a secular basilica, an academy, library, or anything else; and in these illustrations no thread of continuity, or even congruity, can now be traced.

Then for the consul—this *may* be of Junius Bassus' own time, intended to portray himself; in which case its inferiority would be explained by the artist being left to his own skill for a design, whilst in all the other works he had good models to copy. Or, if you prefer it, it *may* have been substituted in the following century for a panel of Bassus' period, either for the reason you suggest, or any other, such as an accidental dilapidation in some part, which induced the introduction of this "restoration."

Cumloden, Bournemouth, 7th April, 1879.

IX.—*On Glass Beads with a Chevron Pattern.* By JOHN BRENT, Esq. F.S.A.

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Read June 13th, 1872.

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I BEG to exhibit three beads belonging to a class which has excited considerable interest among archæologists both in this country and in America, and of which the origin appears to be somewhat uncertain.

Although the specimens exhibited differ in diameter they are all formed of sections of glass rods of the same pattern, and in order to save repetition it may be desirable to give a description which applies to most of the beads under consideration. Around the central tube is generally a small quantity of transparent greenish-white glass; this is surrounded by a narrow zigzag line of opaque white, then comes a band of transparent greenish-white, beyond which a second zigzag line of opaque white, followed by a broad band of opaque red of a deep colour; beyond this a third zigzag line of opaque white; and finally transparent deep blue glass, which forms the outer surface of the cylinder.

The zigzag lines of opaque white present in section twelve-pointed stars, of which the points are sometimes slightly curved. The patterns of the interior are shown by grinding off a portion of the outer coatings at each end, sometimes simply rounded, sometimes in six bevelled facets, the portion immediately round the central tube being left more or less truncated. The appearance of the bead varies according to the angle at which the facets are cut; the result is, that the opaque white lines have the appearance of chevrons. The beads occasionally exhibit small holes parallel to the central tube, which are probably accidentally produced in the process of manufacture.

Of the three specimens exhibited No. 1 is in the Canterbury Museum; it is  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter and  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. long, and the ends have been facettèd. It was found in 1860, by Mr. James Reid, M.R.C.S. of Canterbury, in soil thrown out in making a pier of the viaduct of the Canterbury and Dover Railway, near Wincheap, where it crosses the St. Mildred meadows. It was found in the marsh itself, in a place which formerly was often inundated by the river Stour. It lay about 3 feet



below the surface, and under a growth of peat. It was discovered in a dark soil with animal bones, and had probably been brought down from the higher land at some remote period in a watercourse. Some distance off at a higher level was an ancient cemetery, where interments had been made both by inhumation and cremation, the latter being undoubtedly Roman.

The second bead is of the usual pattern,  $1\frac{9}{10}$  in. long and  $1\frac{6}{10}$  in. in diameter, with the ends bevelled off in facets. It was found in 1837, in deepening a well at Wye, Kent, in a house near the church. It was taken by Mr. Matthews, the owner of the premises, out of the mud from the well thrown up in the garden. He bequeathed it, together with the house, to a relative, from whom I obtained it. Mr. Matthews thought the bead had been thrown into the well "to charm the water." It has been figured in Morris's "Topography of Wye," p. 21, and is represented in Plate XXII. fig. 6.

The third bead is of the same form as the last, but smaller in size, measuring  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. in length and 1 in. in diameter. It belongs to Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A. by whom it was purchased from a curiosity dealer in Canterbury, who stated that he had obtained it from a labouring man, with the account that it was found in the neighbourhood. At the time in question extensive excavations were going on at Canterbury. This bead has the appearance of great antiquity, the glass being much oxidised or perhaps waterworn.

A certain number of these beads are preserved in various collections, which it may be desirable to describe :

In the British Museum there are to be found thirteen specimens, of which the following account has been furnished to me by Mr. Franks :

"1. In the Egyptian collection, length  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in.; diameter  $1\frac{6}{10}$  in.; ends facettèd. Obtained by the Rev. Greville Chester, at Dakkeh, in Nubia, where he purchased it of an Arab girl. It is represented in Plate XXII. fig. 5.

"2. Fragment of a large bead with facettèd ends; present length  $1\frac{7}{10}$  in. It was obtained in 1853 from the collection of Dr. Gideon Mantell, but unfortunately nothing is known of its history. It may, however, have been found in Kent or Sussex, as most of his antiquities were derived from those counties.

"3. Large bead, much oxidised, and worn or bruised; the ends truncated and very slightly rounded; length  $2\frac{2}{10}$  in.; diameter  $1\frac{4}{10}$  in. The outer blue surface is partially ground or worn off so as to exhibit the ridges of the outermost star of opaque white, which gives the bead the effect of being striped. Purchased in 1861, without any history.

"4. Unusually short bead, measuring  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. in length and  $1\frac{3}{10}$  in. in diameter;



Full Size.

C.F. Kell, Lith. London.





ends facettèd. The white lines are somewhat curved, so as to resemble a toothed wheel; but little of the outer coating of blue is visible, which forms a herring-bone pattern. It belonged to the late Mr. B. Nightingale, and was found in 1848 in the Greta, near Keswick, Westmoreland, by Mr. Donaldson, while angling.

"5. An egg-shaped bead, rather worn; length  $1\frac{6}{10}$  in.; diameter  $1\frac{1}{10}$  in.; ends facettèd. From the collection of the Duc de Blacas, 1867. No history, but probably foreign.

"6. Fragment of a bead, with facettèd end; present length  $\frac{9}{10}$  in.; acquired in 1868 from the collection of the late Mr. Woodhouse, of Corfu, and probably found in that island; it is slightly iridescent.

"7. A perfect bead; well preserved; length  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in.; diameter 1 in.; ends facettèd. Believed to have been found in London.

"8. A small bead, evidently much more modern than those described above. It is  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. long and  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. in diameter. The outer coating is of a deep green instead of blue. It is only worth noticing as being the specimen formerly in Mr. B. Nightingale's collection, and engraved in *Archæologia*, xxxiv. pl. v. fig. 9. It is stated to have been found in the Thames near London Bridge, June, 1847, and was obtained by the British Museum with the collection of the late Mr. Lucas, of Ashborne, Derbyshire.

"The five following specimens are from the Slade collection:—

"9. A large bead; 2 in. long;  $1\frac{4}{10}$  in. diameter; ends facettèd, showing numerous smaller holes parallel to the rod. It is described in the catalogue of the Slade Collection No. 50, and the woodcut illustrating it in that work is here reproduced."

"10. A very similar bead; length 2 in.; diameter  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in.; ends facettèd. No history.

"11. A bead nearly globular, with rounded ends; length  $\frac{9}{10}$  in.; diameter  $1\frac{1}{10}$  in.

"12. 13. A pair of beads, exactly similar, with facettèd ends, mounted in metal loops, length  $\frac{8}{10}$  in.; diameter  $\frac{9}{10}$  in. These do not appear to be very ancient, and are said to have been used as ear-rings.

"14. A bead very recently obtained through the kindness of W. Edkins, Esq. Length  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. It was found in railway cuttings in Somersetshire (Plate XXII. fig. 4.)"



BEAD IN THE SLADE COLLECTION.  
Full size.

<sup>a</sup> The woodcut has been lent by Mr. Franks.



"The British Museum also possesses a portion of a rod of glass from which such beads could be made, a section of which is shown in Plate XXII. fig. 1. This belonged to the collection of Sir William Hamilton, and probably therefore was brought from Southern Italy. In the manuscript catalogue of the Hamilton Collection by d'Hancarville it is noticed among the antique glass as follows: "Le cylindre, No. 72a, composé de fleurons peints de bleu, de blanc, de rouge, et de vert, concentriquement posés, était fait pour être divisé en diverses tables que l'on appliquait ensuite à differens ouvrages." The rod has been broken, but is  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. long and about 1 in. in diameter. It is not at all oxidised. Douglas alludes to it in the *Nenia Britannica*, p. 87.

"Besides this rod, there are in the collection two transverse sections of a similar rod or bead 1 in. in diameter, which were presented by Dr. J. E. Gray, F.R.S., and one of which is reproduced in the accompanying plate (Plate XXII. fig. 2).

"It should be added that in the Slade Collection is a large pattern-book of Venetian beads, among which are some that recall the beads in question. There are thirteen varieties (Nos. 646 to 658) of the same general construction, but differing in colour; two of them exhibit the same succession of colours as the beads under consideration, excepting that the inner layers of clear glass are replaced by opaque white. They vary in length from  $1\frac{1}{10}$  in. to  $\frac{6}{10}$  in. and in diameter from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  in."

In the South Kensington Museum are two beads of this kind:—

1. Large bead of usual pattern, but much worn or worked down on the outer surface, so that much of the blue has been removed, and the ridges of the exterior white star have become visible, giving a striped appearance to the bead; in some places even the red layer is exposed; ends rounded; length  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in.; diameter  $1\frac{5}{8}$  in. It is described as Antique Roman, and was presented by the Rev. Greville Chester, who believes that he obtained it in Italy.

2. A smaller bead with the ends facettèd; length  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in.; diameter  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. Purchased in 1868 from Mr. John Webb's Collection.

In the Jermyn Street Museum is one bead  $1\frac{1}{10}$  in. long and  $\frac{9}{10}$  in. in diameter. It differs slightly in the colouring, narrow lines of opaque red being introduced between the opaque white lines. It is believed to have been presented in May, 1843, by the Rev. H. R. Lloyd, vicar of Carew, Pembrokeshire, as a "Druid's bead."

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford are preserved five specimens. I am informed by Mr. Rowell, the assistant curator, that two of them were in the

original catalogue of the Museum, and that the three others were presented in 1829 by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who had purchased them from Mrs. Douglas, the widow of the Rev. James Douglas, author of *Nenia Britannica*.

These last three beads came originally from Dr. Stukeley, but we have unfortunately no information as to where they were found. Douglas, in the *Nenia Britannica*, gives a description of these beads, and engravings of two of them, pl. xxi. No. 2, figs. 2, 7. He speaks of them as follows :

“These beads are described by Bishop Gibson in his annotations on Camden as the *gleini-nadroeth*, or glass adders, of the Druids,<sup>a</sup> and which, he says, are found in Scotland, and by the people called by that name; wherefore a bead of this kind has been prized of inestimable value, and called the Druid Anguinum. See a foolish description of this Druid charm in Pliny, lib. xxix. c. iii.

“I have three of these beads which came from Dr. Stukeley’s collection, fig. 7, and one considerably smaller than fig. 2. Figs. 2 and 7, I suspect, are the identical beads engraved in Bishop Gibson’s Camden.”

Mr. Brothers of High Street, Ashford, has the fragment of a large bead in his possession, said to have been found some years since at Tenterden. I have heard of another fragment found near Eastry.

In the Caerleon Museum is preserved a bead of this kind, of which an engraving may be found in the *Isca Silurum* (pl. xxviii. fig. 7, p. 53), of John Edward Lee, Esq. F.S.A. who informs me that it came from the collection of the late Mr. Hooper, and was probably found in the locality.

In the Liverpool Museum are three specimens and fragments of two others, acquired through the liberality of Joseph Mayer, Esq. F.S.A.

1. A bead of slightly irregular form, 1 in. long, 1 in. in diameter, faceted. It is engraved in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. v. fig. 2, as found at Gilton, in Kent, where numerous Anglo-Saxon remains were excavated by the Rev. Bryan Faussett. It is not, however, alluded to in the text, and by the kindness of Mr.

<sup>a</sup> [Gibson’s] Camden, p. 684. “These beads are cut from a similar rod of glass to that in the British Museum, from the collection of Sir William Hamilton, and found in Italy, I believe at Naples; and which evidently demonstrates the spot where was situated this glass manufactory, which by traffic was circulated among all the northern people, who with much avidity, like the islanders of the South Seas, received such baubles to please their fancy in dress, or to appropriate to some superstitious charms, which prevailed so much among them, and to favour which the dexterous Romans had invented every device of this kind which could possibly serve their traffic. Beads exactly similar are now manufactured in England for the African slave-trade, one of which, before mentioned, had been conveyed among a cluster of beads, in a grave which the author was opening at Ash, by a very worthy friend, who was desirous, for the sake of the jest, to surprise him with the discovery of the celebrated *glain nidr*.”



C. T. Gatty, of the Liverpool Museum, the original MS. of the inventories has been examined, and it is not there alluded to or drawn. If, therefore, found at Gilton, it must have an accidental discovery, not connected with the Anglo-Saxon graves. Mr. Faussett informs me that it was always kept separate from his father's collection. It is numbered in the Mayer Collection 6363.

2. A bead,  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. long, of the usual type, without locality. Mayer, 6679.

3. A very small bead, said to have been found with seven other Anglo-Saxon beads at Ozengell, in Kent, Nov. 1846 (Plate XXII. fig. 3). Rolfe Collection. Mayer, 7338.

4. Fragment of a large bead  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. long, said to have been found at Gilton. From the Rolfe Collection. Mayer, 7187.

5. Another fragment, locality unknown. Mayer, 6688.

There is also preserved in the Liverpool Museum a string of beads comparatively modern, which comes from the Faussett Collection. It is labelled as being found in a ditch at Elham, in Kent, in 1767.

To these may be added a bead which belonged to the late Mr. Jesse King, of Appleford, Berks, and of which an engraving has appeared in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, iii. p. 328. It is  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. long and  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. in diameter, with faceted ends. It is stated to have been obtained at Southampton, and believed to have been found near that town. Mr. King's collection was dispersed, and it is not known where this specimen is now preserved.

A fragment of a bead in the late Mr. B. Nightingale's collection is engraved in the *Archæologia*, xxxiv. pl. v. fig. 10.

Another bead, stated to have been found at Maes-y-Pandy, Merionethshire, was published by Bishop Gibson in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (ii. 832), reproduced in Gough's *Camden*, 1789 (ii. pl. xviii. fig. 18, 19), who considers it to be a specimen of the Glain-nadroeth, or glass adder-beads, of the Druids. The Bishop asserts that these beads have been found in Scotland.

Such are the specimens which I have met with in England, although there may be others in private collections of which I have obtained no account.

I have addressed letters, with drawings, to the Directors or Conservators of continental museums, with the following results :—

Our honorary fellow, Abbé Cochet, that indefatigable investigator of ancient remains, now deceased, informed me that in the museum at Rouen, containing very numerous Roman antiquities, no bead of this type is preserved, nor had he ever met with a specimen in Normandy or in the departments of the Seine.

M. Parenteau, of Nantes, wrote to me that he had seen a bead of this description, found at Pornic, in Brittany.

M. Martin-Daussigny, director of the museum at Lyons, stated that there is no bead of that kind in that museum; and M. Alexandre Bertrand has informed me that there is no specimen identical in the museum at St. Germain.

M. Boncoiran, writing from Nismes, has forwarded me letters from the distinguished antiquaries, M. Révoil, of Nismes, and M. Edouard Flouest, to both of whom he had communicated my letter; from which it appears that no such beads are known at Nismes or in that neighbourhood.

The only bead of which I have heard in France is in the Egyptian collection of the museum of the Louvre, which M. Ravaisson, director of that museum, writes was obtained from the collection of Clot-bey, and came from Egypt. It measures  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. in length.

In the remarks on ancient beads published by Mr. J. G. Akerman in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. he notices the fragment of a bead of this description in the collection of Mr. B. Nightingale, who, in the description which he has furnished Mr. Akerman, states that perfect beads, equal in dimensions to what this has originally been, are frequently found in the countries bordering on the Rhine, and the local museums of Rhenish towns, especially Mannheim and Baden, are full of such specimens.

This statement led me to make inquiries from Baron A. von Bayer, of Carlsruhe, who in answer informs me that "no glass beads corresponding to the drawing sent exist in the collection of which I am conservator, nor in any collections in these parts."

Dr. Ladner, writing to me from Trèves, states that no such beads are to be found in the museum of that city.

With regard to the North of Europe, I have ascertained that two specimens are preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, which have been noticed by M. Morlot, in his memoir "*On the Date of the Copper Age in America*," where they are both engraved. M. Herbst (keeper of the archives), of the museum at Copenhagen, has most kindly sent me drawings of the beads; they are of the usual type. The first is a fragment of a large bead with faceted end (No. 5211), which was found in a tumulus, but of what age is not stated, in the parish of Skjörpinge, in the bailiwick of Aalborg, Jutland, and was bought in 1839 at the sale of the late Bishop Münter's collection. The other (No. 12,390) is perfect,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. long and 1 in. in diameter, and was bought at the sale of Colonel Sommer's collection in 1852. It is noticed in the sale catalogue of the collection among antiquities of the Iron Age, No. 222, "*Perle en mosaïque très-grand et belle, trouvée près de Stockholm (rare).*"

In North America several beads of this kind have been found or preserved.



Dr. L. G. Olmstead, of Fort Edward, New York, who has taken great interest in these beads, writes that there are three in the Egyptian Collection of the Historical Society of New York, forming part of the collection of Dr. Abbott, by whom they are stated to have been taken out of a tomb at Sakkara, in Egypt. Another, he states, was ploughed up more than fifty years since on the south shore of Lake Erie, in Pennsylvania, on land formerly occupied by the Erie tribe of Indians. It is of large size, measuring  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length,  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. in diameter.

In Schoolcraft's great work on the Indian Tribes <sup>a</sup> five beads of the same description are engraved. They vary in length from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{3}{10}$  in. and in diameter from  $\frac{6}{16}$  to  $\frac{3}{8}$ . They were found about 1837 in old Indian ossuaries at Beverley, twelve miles from Dundas, Canada West, together with shell beads, clay pipes, glass bugles and smaller beads, eight amulets of red pipe-stone, teeth, &c. Schoolcraft says of the beads, "they are believed to be of European origin, and agree completely with the beads found in 1817 in antique Indian graves at Hamburg, Erie, N.Y." <sup>b</sup> In another passage <sup>c</sup> he seems to attribute the introduction of these beads to the French settlers in Canada. I am informed that other specimens are in the collection of Professor S. S. Haldeman, of Pennsylvania.

As a general rule the American specimens are smaller than those found in Europe, but the succession of colours appears to be identical.

M. A. Morlot, a distinguished Swiss archæologist, has communicated to the American Philosophical Society a memoir "On the Date of the Copper Age in the United States," printed in their Proceedings for 1862, pp. 111-114, in which he has engraved one of the Beverley beads as well as the specimens at Copenhagen, and he endeavours to prove that the Copper Age of America was synchronous with the Phœnicians. <sup>d</sup>

Such are the materials that we have at our disposal for investigating the origin and age of the beads under consideration. Unfortunately most of the specimens have been found under circumstances that do not afford any clue to their age.

The principal sources from which they may have been derived are as follows: 1. Eastern, that is, Ancient Egyptian or Phœnician. 2. Celtic, either British or Gaulish. 3. Roman. 4. Teutonic, viz. Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian, or Scandinavian. 5. Mediæval or Venetian.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. pl. xxiv. figs. 7-11. As represented, the colours seem to be transposed, the red forming the outer coating. This does not, however, agree with the end views of the same beads, and it is probable, therefore, that the lithographer has made a mistake. M. Morlot has corrected this in the work referred to in the text.

<sup>b</sup> He refers to second part of Lead Mines of Missonri, New York, 1819.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. v. p. 110.

<sup>d</sup> See some remarks on this subject in Proceedings Soc. Ant. 2d S. ii. 334.

I have inserted the last class because I am aware that Mr. Franks has expressed an opinion as to the comparatively modern origin of these beads, based partly on the continuance of similar patterns in the modern workshops of Murano.<sup>a</sup> My own belief is that most of them at any rate are more ancient.

As to the Anglo-Saxon origin, it rests chiefly on the Gilton bead, the history of which however seems doubtful, not being alluded to in the text of the *Inventorium*, so that if from Gilton it may have been accidentally found, and not associated with any grave. At any rate the excavations of Mr. Akerman, Mr. Wylie, Lord Braybrooke, myself at Sarre, and other explorers, did not lead to the discovery of any similar bead in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, nor did the explorations in contemporary cemeteries by Abbé Cochet in Normandy, M. Baudot in Burgundy, or Dr. Lindenschmit at Selzen, lead to the finding of any such bead.

As to Roman origin, we have the negative evidence of the French archæologists already mentioned, as well as of Dr. Ladner of Trèves, and Baron von Bayer, of Carlsruhe, all acquainted with localities very fertile in Roman remains, and none are to be found in the museums with which they are acquainted. Dr. Collingwood Bruce, Mr. John Clayton of Chester, and the late Dr. Kenrick of York, all deny having observed such beads. I must however observe that Mr. J. E. Lee, F.S.A. and Mr. Herbst, of Copenhagen, and the late Mr. T. Wright, F.S.A. incline to a Roman origin. These gentlemen are high authorities, but we have no evidence that a single specimen of the bead has ever been found connected with a Roman interment, which I think is decisive that they are not of Roman origin.

Of the Celtic origin of these beads we certainly have no proof; only a vague impression derived probably from Bishop Gibson's *Additions to Camden's Britannia*; where, as already mentioned, is engraved one of these beads as the *glain nidr*, or adder-bead, of the Druids. This opinion seems derived from a mistaken reading of Pliny, who in his description of certain magical beads, "the product of the saliva of serpents or snakes when twisted or convoluted amongst themselves," seems rather to refer to rings than to beads, especially as he further states that the bubble formed like a ring round the heads of these reptiles passes down the body and comes off the tails.

<sup>a</sup> The glass-works of Venice claim to have taken their origin in the seventh century, and were, at any rate, in full activity in the thirteenth, and they still supply the bulk of the beads exported to uncivilised countries.



Doubtless there was an old superstition connected with the "adder-bead" or "snake-stone," and I think it not at all unlikely that the "*cor anguinum*," an ennerinite in its fossil state so called, had a value attached to it through superstitious observances.

These fossils somewhat resemble a bead, and I have found in ancient graves two specimens buried with relics belonging to the deceased, one from Sarre and the other from Faversham.

These graves were not Celtic, nevertheless the practice might have descended, as when in other respects we find that the Anglo-Saxon who practised interment by inhumation buried an urn or two after the custom of the Romans, whose remains were generally deposited according to the rites of cremation.

I am not aware that these beads have ever been found with British or Celtic remains. The Copenhagen bead, said to have been taken from a Danish grave, could hardly prove their Scandinavian origin. It is an isolated case if correct, and as the great rivers of Northern Europe were once the chief highways for the transmission of Eastern manufactures into Sweden and Denmark, as in the instance of the Arabic coins found in Scandinavia referred to by Mr. Akerman, so one of these beads might have been derived from the East, and been placed as a valuable relic in the grave of its Danish possessor, in the same manner as these Northmen, in their expeditions to North America in the eleventh century, might have obtained specimens of the polychrome bead, and carried some of these objects to Canada; there after a time they became the spoil of the victorious aborigines, when the Scandinavian settlers were overpowered and destroyed. However, we are here attempting to elucidate a discovery which it is difficult to explain. The structure of the bead itself, and the artistic skill required for its manufacture, seems to negative the idea that it belonged to these primitive peoples.

Nothing in glass has been produced by the Celts and Scandinavians analogous to it.

In M. de la Villemarqué's "*Chansons de la Bretagne*"<sup>a</sup> (Barzaz-Breiz) there are allusions to the mythical serpent's egg, "*L'oeuf rouge du serpent marin, dans le creux du rocher*," which the Merlin of the Bretons is supposed to be constantly in search of. The snake-stones were used as charms and amulets amongst the Druids of Brittany. They might be the "*cor anguinum*," though the colour is against this idea ("*l'oeuf rouge*"), or chance specimens of our polychrome bead, the fabrication of

<sup>a</sup> Tome i. p. 59.

some ancient people, trading with the Celtic tribes of the north-west coasts of France. The remarkable fact connected with these beads is that they are always found in isolated spots, singly, and never with other antiquarian relics. Thus we have scarcely a clue to lead to the discovery of their origin.

Although a solitary specimen found in a Roman, Danish, or Anglo-Saxon grave, would hardly settle the question, except perhaps as regards their antiquity, I do not consider that they can be of modern origin—I mean the productions of the last three or four centuries; my views incline to the opinion that they are objects of great antiquity. Possibly they may be old Venetian, but against this supposition we have the facts that no specimens of them have been found in Italy, and have no instance of the Old Venetians trading to the British Isles.

Where all seems to be uncertainty we must fall back as regards their origin on the few authorities we *can* quote, or the supposed facts relative to them which we possess, and which are in favour of an Eastern origin, Egyptian or Phœnician.

Thus I find it reported that the beads in the museum of the Louvre were brought from Egypt. One of the British Museum beads was obtained by the Rev. Greville Chester from Dakkeh, in Nubia. The beads in the museum at New York were brought by Dr. Abbott from a tomb at Sakkara, in Egypt, and lastly, whilst giving the final revision to this paper, Dr. L. G. Olmstead, of Fort Edward, N.Y. informs me that he has just seen at Boston one of the Chevron beads in the Museum of Fine Art in that city, which is also said to have been brought from Egypt.

Now, if all or even one of these statements be true, the original type of these beads must be ancient, and the specimens themselves of Eastern if not of Egyptian origin.

This is the conclusion to which I arrive, being ready, however, to admit that where a certain sort of uncertainty prevails an opinion should be advanced with caution, and that the question may still lie open, hereafter to be more satisfactorily solved by some discovery or circumstance which shall conclusively demonstrate the origin of these beads.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing my great obligation to Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A. in many ways for the assistance he has rendered me in the elucidation of my inquiries, and the valuable suggestions he has made in regard to the facts and authorities which I have collected.



## POSTSCRIPT.

I have since received from Mr. Franks the following additional information :—

On looking over my note-books I have found a few mentions of the bead with chevron patterns which you may like to add to your communication.

In the *Antiquarium* of the Berlin Museum is a specimen 1 in. long,  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter; as usual it has no history. In the Austrian Industrial Museum at Vienna are two beads and a fragment; one of the beads is of large size; they formed part of a collection purchased at Rome. In the Museum at Hanover are two, which are said to have come from Lüneburg. There is a specimen in the collection of our friend John Evans, Esq. F.S.A. but without history. Mr. C. T. Gatty, of the Liverpool Museum, informs me that Miss Lovell has one, about 1 in. long, which she found in the garden of Catherington House, Horn Dean, Hants.

The Rev. Greville Chester has obtained, for the British Museum, a very pretty little specimen from Egypt, only  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. long. It is of the usual pattern but cut square, with only four facets at the ends. In the Egyptian section at the Paris Exhibition, 1878, was a very large bead, mounted in bronze at each end. It was among the Arab objects, but I was unable to obtain any information concerning it.

Professor S. S. Haldeman, of Chickies, Pennsylvania, has kindly sent me one of the little beads from North America, and informs me that a large bead  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. long has been recently sent to the Smithsonian Institution. This last was found in a mound in Florida.<sup>a</sup> He has also called my attention to the Journal of the Museum Godefroy at Hamburg, in which is an account of the Pelew Islands, where certain ancient beads pass as money and are much treasured up. Among these are four chevron beads, considered by the natives to be varieties of their most valued coin, the *Kalebukubs*. These four, the only ones known to them, ornament the necklace of the King's youngest daughter. They seem from the engravings to be rounded, like the North American beads, from  $\frac{5}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, and if correctly drawn have more than twelve points in the stars. The King stated that he believed this kind of coin to have come from the north-west. The ancient beads constitute the principal wealth of the families and cannot be purchased. One small black and white bead belonging to the King is considered to be worth a complete war-canoe.<sup>b</sup> The whole account is exceedingly curious, and is accompanied by the legends of the natives as to how they became possessed of the various kinds of beads, some of which they attempt to imitate by melting fragments of European bottles.

Another remarkable discovery is that beads of exactly the same pattern as the chevron beads, but very small, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves at Ancon. Two of them are in the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin. Others, also found in Peru, and likewise very small, have recently been acquired for the Liverpool Museum.

<sup>a</sup> Smithsonian Report, 1877. On a Polychrome Bead from Florida, by S. S. Haldeman; where is engraved another,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. long, from Santa Barbara, California.

<sup>b</sup> Journal des Museum Godefroy, Heft 4, p. 52, and pl. 2, figs. 8, 9. 1873.

XII.—*On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II. and Henry III. in Westminster Abbey.* By the Very Rev. ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., F.S.A.,  
*Dean of Westminster.*

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Read June 26th, 1873.

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TOMB OF RICHARD II.

The tomb of Richard II. has a triple interest: for Westminster Abbey; for English History generally; and for the Society of Antiquaries.

(1.) For the Abbey, Richard II. must remain, in spite of all his faults, one of its most familiar and consecrated personages. His coronation is described in the only volume handed down from mediæval times to the custody of the successive Deans of Westminster: namely, the *Liber Regalis* of Abbot Littlington, of which a reprint has lately been made for the Roxburghe Society by the munificence of Lord Beauchamp. The event was further marked by the first appearance of two features in the coronations, both especially connected with Westminster, the Champion, and the Knights of the Bath.

He was one of the three English Sovereigns married in the Abbey, the two others being Henry III. and Henry VII. His affection for it is proved by the colossal badge of the White Hart in the Triforium, and by the portrait which long tradition has ascribed to him, and which, after its marvellous restoration by Mr. Richmond, has now returned as nearly as possible to its original place in the choir.

So anxiously too did he desire to be buried by the side of the Confessor, that, overleaping the precedent set by his father, the Black Prince, he cleared for himself and his Queen a place in St. Edward's Chapel by transporting the coffins and tomb of his two relations, the children of Humphrey de Bohun, to the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

He also, unconsciously perhaps, but not the less effectively, was the originator of the series of illustrious interments which began with his two favourites, John of Waltham, the first of the statesmen, and Robert Waldeby, the first of the men of letters, who were laid in the church, thereafter to receive the long line of graves of distinguished men in Church and State.

In the case of none of the Plantagenet tombs have we a more complete account of its building and of its ornaments; in none did the Sovereign himself take a keener interest during his lifetime. From none was any king kept away by such strange vicissitudes: carried away by his successor to King's Langley,



as if to avoid the occasion of pilgrimages or demonstrations by his numerous adherents; then brought back years afterwards by the youth whom he had himself knighted; or perhaps, as the Scottish chronicler would have us believe, laid in the church of the Preaching Friars at Stirling on the north side of the altar.

(2.) Again, for the history of England his tomb marks the close of the first Plantagenet dynasty. The Lancastrian monuments which follow, whether in Westminster or elsewhere, are of a different type; and from this watershed of history the stream of events henceforth flows in a new direction.

In this tomb at Westminster the bones of Richard II. were laid, under circumstances so peculiar that no other like interment has occurred amongst our kings. No other royal death or burial is enveloped in so fearful a mystery as that occasioned by the threefold account of his death. The doubt was entertained in his own time whether the body brought from Pontefract, through London to King's Langley, was not that of his chaplain Maudelyn; and again, whether he was not long afterwards living a state prisoner in Scotland; and then there arose the pertinacious belief of his followers that he was still living like a Prince Henry of Portugal, or a King Arthur of Brittany, in the fortresses of the usurping successor.\*

The tragedy of his life is centered in his grave, and has been felt alike by poets and historians. The contrast between his portrait and his tomb close by is the same which so deeply impressed the contemporary chronicler of the fourteenth century, and is the same also which no less deeply impressed the poet of the eighteenth century.

"I saw," says Froissart, "two strange things in my time, though widely different, one was the rejoicings at Bordeaux on Richard's birth, the other was the funeral, when some pitied him, but others did not, saying that he had for long since deserved death." And so Gray in his great historical ode:—

Fair laughs the morn and soft the zephyr blows  
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm  
In gallant trim, the gilded vessel goes;  
Youth at the prow and pleasure at the helm,  
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,  
That, hushed in grim repose, expects his living prey.

\* Those who desire to examine the existing evidence and opinions upon this obscure question will do well to consult the following works:—*Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy dengleterre*, by B. Williams. English Historical Society, 1846. P. Fraser Tytler's *History of Scotland*. English Chronicle, Camden Society. Froissart's *Chronicles*, chap. 118-119, 121. Fox's *History of Pontefract*, p. 135-140. Devon's *Pell Records*, pp. 275-6.—"Paid for carriage of the king's body from Pontefract to London, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*" *Archæologia*, vol. vi. p. 314; vol. xx. pp. 220 and 428; vol. xxv. pp. 394-397; vol. xxviii. pp. 75, 85, and 95.

And is it not almost as with the feeling of his love for Westminster Abbey, and of the ghastly or ghostly interest that was to linger over his own tomb, that Richard II is described by Shakespeare :

For Heaven's sake, let us sit upon the ground,  
And tell sad stories of the death of kings.

*Richard II. Act iii. Sc. 2.*

(3.) This brings me to say, thirdly, that no assembly could be more interested in these questions than the Society of Antiquaries. The exhaustive discussion of the stories of Richard's deposition and death, by the Rev. John Webb and others, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. xxiii. xxv. xxviii, shows the keenness with which this Society entered into the matter; and it was Mr. King who, in the same work, vol. vi. (p. 315), gave the most formal account of that very irregular investigation which the antiquaries of the last century made by thrusting their hands through the vacant holes in the side of the tomb and pulling about the royal bones. The Dean of that day, Dean Thomas, very properly closed the holes, and from that time there has been no further exploration possible. But when by the courteous attention of the present First Commissioner of Works, Mr. Ayrton, to the repeated suggestions that he should follow in the course so well inaugurated by his predecessor, Mr. Layard, with regard to the royal monuments of the Tudor dynasty, the process of cleaning the Plantagenet tombs was undertaken, the opportunity was once more offered, and the grateful thanks of the Dean as well as of the public are due as heretofore to the Society of Antiquaries for the ready assistance which its distinguished members were able to render even at the dead season of the year when these investigations were conducted. In matters of such delicacy it is a rare advantage to be able to refer to a recognised oracle which could say, with the tact acquired by long experience and varied knowledge, where it was necessary to advance, where to withhold further research.

There is, in Mr. Nichols's very interesting account of the tomb of Richard II., in the *Archæologia* (xxix. p. 57) a very true, perhaps one might say a very severe, account of the state of the effigies. "For many generations," he says, "the gilding and pounce-work have been obscured by a thick varnish of indurated dust, until at last they were entirely forgotten, except for the tradition of the successive authors who have described the Abbey and its monuments." He takes the Government and the Dean and Chapter to task for this neglect. It was



to wipe away this reproach that, in pursuance of the successful results of cleaning the tomb of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and of cleansing and partly repairing that of King Henry VII., similar operations were set on foot in relation to Richard II.'s tomb.

From the appearance of the effigies and the great discoloration of the metal bed, as well as of the marble covering slabs, it was at first thought that the tomb had been entered in recent times, but it soon became evident that, although the effigies and their adjuncts had all been displaced, first through the dislocation gradually caused by the corrosion of the iron cramps in the sub-structure, secondly by the violence which had been used when the missing portions of the metal work had been abstracted, and thirdly by the circumstance that casts of all the metal work have been of late years taken for various exhibitions, &c., yet the marble slabs forming the covering had certainly not been removed since the time when Henry V. finally placed the remains of his predecessor within the tomb.

An examination of the masonry also showed that the structure had been originally made as far as possible air-tight when the Queen was buried, for all the joints of the marble work were filled in with a resinous cement, technically called "grain," made of resin, wax, and stone dust; and this, having been thrust whilst hot into the open joints after the parts were fixed, had rendered all the junctions impervious. This precaution cannot have been repeated when the tomb was opened and again closed after the deposition of the King's body, as the evident use of mortar in the pointing would preclude the more careful treatment which had been adopted at the first interment.

This is of importance, as an additional proof that the tomb of Anne of Bohemia was already completed in the reign of Richard II., a fact indeed which was sufficiently clear from Richard's Will (see Nichols's *Royal Wills*, p. 192 *et. seq.*), and from the indentures for the work, printed by Neale (vol. ii. pp. 111-113), from Rymer's *Fœdera* (vol. vii. p. 797). But as Dart<sup>a</sup> (vol. ii. p. 45) and others had maintained the opinion that it was built after the interment of Richard II. in the reign of Henry V., it is satisfactory to find that the argument from the structure is in entire accordance with the argument from the documents.

The metal work, which is of considerable weight, was first lifted up by means of pulleys and ropes into the Triforium, in order to permit the operations of cleansing, &c., to be carried on without any disturbance.

Two of the three marble slabs which form the covering of the tomb were

<sup>a</sup> See also Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, p. 174.

then examined, and it was ascertained that four iron studs had been inserted at the four corners to secure the parts of the old metal work which had disappeared. The corners of the marble have all been more or less strained by the force of the corrosion of these studs, the north-east corner was broken quite off and splintered, the other three were all cracked. There was also a wooden wedge found underneath the slab. It is evident that this belonged to the time when the slab was finally laid down in the reign of Henry V., and this fact, with the other indications just mentioned, is decisive that what is somewhat obscurely called by Mr. Amyot<sup>a</sup> the accidental opening of the tomb was only the peeping and thrusting in of the objects through the holes before mentioned in the side of the tomb.

It was not till the slab was lifted up that the actual nature of the tomb was disclosed.

The examination which followed, beginning on 3rd August, 1871, was carried on by the Dean, Canon Jennings, Sir Gilbert Scott, Mr. Doyne Bell, Mr. Richmond, Mr. George Scharf, Mr. Chance, Mr. C. Knight Watson, Mr. Sangster, Mr. John Scott, and Mr. C. S. Perceval.

The interior of the tomb consists of a chamber immediately under the marble slabs about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep, having the floor of the grave about 2 feet 6 inches below the floor of the Confessor's chapel, and about 1 foot 6 inches above that of the Ambulatory.

The lower part of the chamber is the grave, which is about 7 feet long and 5 feet wide, and over it is a space traversed longitudinally by an arch formed at about mid-height, so as to carry the two long slabs above, and dividing that space into two parts  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and each about two feet wide.

The discovery that this low chamber was the actual vault is doubly interesting: It at once dispels the doubts which are expressed by Neale (vol. ii. p. 110), as to whether the bones seen in the last century through the apertures could really be the remains of the King and Queen; as it was more natural to suppose that they were interred in the upper portion of the tomb. It now seems that they were not, and this fact is also important, as indicating the transition from the custom followed in the earlier Plantagenet tombs to that adopted by the Tudors of interment in a separate vault.

On looking in, there were seen on the floor the broken and rotten boards of coffins, and bones, apparently in great disorder, especially two skulls which lay towards the foot of the grave. The Dean was at once summoned, and he directed

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 428, quoting Mr. King's account in *Archæologia*, vol. vi. p. 135.



and superintended a closer examination. It was found that the contents had been subjected to much interference, and it was evident that they had been reached through the five holes formerly existing in the lower panelling of the south side, thus confirming the accounts given by historians of the Abbey, which state that these five holes, caused by the displacement of so many metal shields, were used by visitors to pass in their hands, and thus the contents were felt and disturbed; and many portions abstracted and other objects introduced, as was soon proved.<sup>a</sup>

On the 3rd of August, the Dean, Canon Jennings, Mr. Doyne Bell, and Mr. C. Knight Watson proceeded to examine the contents of the tomb.

The rotten elm boards of the coffins were first lifted out, and then the remains of the King and Queen were more visible; those of the King were lying chiefly on the north side, whilst those of the Queen remained on the south side as she had been placed by the King himself. These bones and the other contents of the grave were then all carefully handed out and examined by those present.

It was evident that several portions of the skeletons were missing, for instance, both the lower jaws;<sup>b</sup> and the crowns of copper said to have been seen through the holes on the south side were also not found. After all the bones that could be found had been removed, it was determined to sift the dust, and indeed the entire contents of the grave, so as to bring to light any minute objects which might otherwise escape observation. This was accordingly done, and the result was

<sup>a</sup> "From the side next the area," writes Dart (vol. ii. p. 45), "the arms are stolen, in the holes of which putting my hands, I could turn the boards of the coffin."

<sup>b</sup> The following is an extract from a letter recently received by the Dean.

"Wouldham Rectory, Rochester,

"30 June, 1873.

"It may be interesting to you to know that my grandfather Gerrard Andrewes, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, saw a Westminster scholar poke his hand into the tomb of Richard II. in the year 1766, and fish out the lower jaw-bone of the King. My grandfather received the jaw-bone from the boy, and it is now in my possession. I have often shown it to medical men, who say it is the jaw-bone of a man in the prime of life. There are two teeth remaining in the jaw. On a card attached to the bone is written (the handwriting is my grandfather's, Gerrard Andrewes), 'the jaw-bone of King Richard the Second taken out of his coffin by a Westminster scholar 1766.' My grandfather was himself a Westminster scholar at that time, sixteen years of age, having been born in 1750.

\* \* \* \* \*

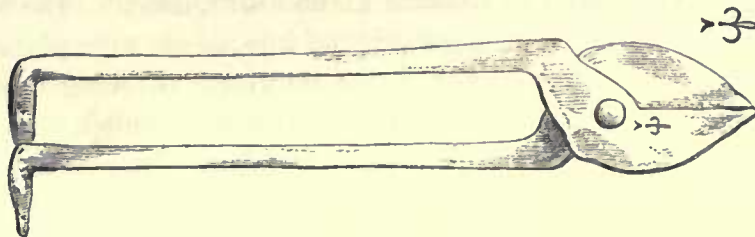
"(Signed)

CHARLES GERRARD ANDREWES."

A report by Mr. Sangster upon the human remains, together with letters upon the subject from Dr. Ogle and Professor Busk, will be found in Appendix (A).

the production of several other objects, an entire list of which is given in Appendix (B). Mr. Doyne Bell made notes of all these proceedings.

Several articles found in the grave had undoubtedly been thrown in at various times through the holes already mentioned. But one remarkable object was found lying on the north side by the King's leg-bones and out of reach of the holes, namely : a large pair of plumber's shears, about 15½ inches long and 4 inches wide,



PLUMBER'S SHEARS OF IRON. LENGTH 15½ INCHES.

very nearly similar in form to those now in use. They are of great age, as shown by the amount of corrosion, and also by the trade stamp of a Plantagenet fleur-de-lis; this is of elegant form, and stamped on the flat surface near the swivel. It is very likely that they were forgotten and left in the grave by the plumber who assisted at the interment in 1413. The leaden covering in which the body with the exception of the face was enveloped must have been removed, as only a very small piece of sheet lead was found in the grave. The leg-bones of the King, which were lying in correct position, and this pair of shears, had never been disturbed, and this is again an additional proof that the tomb had never been previously opened.\*

The conclusions which are to be drawn from an examination of the skull of the King are not without interest. First, that it agrees with his well-known character, and with the general appearance of his portrait in the Abbey. This, however, supposing Maudelyn to have been exceedingly like him, proves nothing as to the identification of the bones as those of King Richard. Secondly, If these are the King's remains, then the story of the murder by Sir Piers Exton is, as has been long suspected, a mere legend. There is no mark of the battle-axe on the skull.

The iron cramps were all removed, and cramps of copper substituted for them,

\* Mr. Doyne Bell has suggested that the leaden envelope might have been removed in order to enable the remains of the King either to be placed in the same wooden coffin or in immediate contiguity to the Queen; in accordance with the same sentiment which prompted George II. to order the sides of his coffin and that of Queen Caroline to be removed. The boards which were thus removed were, in July, 1871, seen placed against the east wall in the Georgian vault in Henry the Seventh's Chapel.



and, photographs having been taken of the skulls and the other bones, &c., arrangements were made for closing the tomb. This was accordingly done on the 18th September, in the presence of the Dean, the Canons in residence, Mr. Doyne Bell, Mr. G. Scharf, and others. The bones of the King and Queen, being arranged as nearly as possible in their proper position, were inclosed in a chest with a division to separate them. On the lid of the chest, the following words were inscribed, "The remains of Richard II. and his Queen." The objects which were believed to be connected with the original interments were placed in another chest and marked "Accompaniments of the interment of King Richard II. and his Queen." The articles which had evidently been intruded at a later period were likewise inclosed in a chest, and inscribed "Later insertions into the tomb of King Richard the Second."

Upon these three chests was laid a wooden tablet face downwards, in order that the inscription should remain clear as long as possible, inscribed as follows: "This tomb was opened during the repairs undertaken by the Office of Works in July 1871, and the contents of the tomb were then arranged by order of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster."

Many portions of the bronze work belonging to this and other adjacent royal tombs are wanting, but no attempt at restoration has been made except by supplying cushions for the heads of Richard II. and his Queen, and of King Edward III. This was done at the suggestion of Her Majesty the Queen, who, upon the occasion of a visit to the Abbey, expressed regret at the neglectful and distressing appearance of these effigies being left without support to their heads. Careful models, adopted from contemporaneous forms, were prepared for these cushions, and these, after approval, were cast in bronze and water gilt; and they were also engraved with the diaper and heraldic devices of the King and Queen which are upon the effigies, table, and canopies, and which, now that the dirt of centuries has been removed, are again visible. These cushions have restored to the effigies that dignity and repose, the want of which had been so long lamented.

After the operations on the tomb had been completed, attention was directed to the wooden canopy above it, which being thickly incrustated with dirt and dust presented little hope of any improvement; although traces of the original paintings on the panels were discernible. One of the cross mouldings of the panels was missing, and the two adjacent panels were thereby much sunk and twisted. These defects were, however, remedied, and the sunken ceiling was corrected and strengthened. On the top boarding of the ceiling were observed very consider-

able droppings of wax, from the wax lights which had formerly been placed above the tomb, and several of the boards were found to be much charred, as if they had been once on fire.

The paintings on the three panels are doubtless of the best art of the period. In the centre is a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, with two graceful figures. The panels to the east and west have two angels on each of them, supporting shields of arms of the King and Queen. The outlines were still well defined, but the colours had much disappeared. The background of these paintings is on gesso and gilt, and most of this remains; the colouring on the mouldings and the gilt ornamentation is also in a fair state of preservation.

Mr. G. Richmond, R.A., kindly took in hand the restoration of these paintings as far as was possible, and with considerable success, as can be seen by all those who remember their former condition.<sup>a</sup> Towards the south side of the lower face of the tomb there are two splays which seem to have belonged to some erection antecedent to the present tomb of King Richard II. They are of firestone, and have a cavetto and bead moulding on the top, and something of the same character running northward, though both are carelessly placed. This recess may have contained a tomb which was removed to make place for that of the King: the concrete under the Queen's coffin and the portion of wall under the King's seem to indicate something of this nature. It may very probably have been the site of the beautiful early-English tomb of the two children of Humphrey de Bohun, now so awkwardly placed on the north side of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist.

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#### TOMB OF HENRY III.

As there would have been considerable difficulty in cleansing the effigy and table-bed of the tomb of Henry III. in its place, it was decided to remove them into the Triforium, where the work could be carried on quietly and uninter-

<sup>a</sup> These paintings are described by Malcolm (Lond. Redivivum, 1802, vol. i. p. 96). He says, "One hundred years past it is probable that these pictures were tolerably perfect. If they had then been taken down and cleaned and preserved, and had last winter been put for Gnido's, I am persuaded the deception would not have been discovered; now indeed the ravages of time have seized fast on them, and they will shortly owe their remembrance to works like mine."



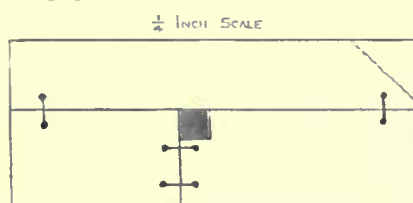
ruptedly. On the 24th October, 1871, they were therefore carefully displaced, and by means of powerful hoisting apparatus and strong scaffold work lifted up to the Triforium.

The effigy is in one entire piece, and the casting is of remarkable excellence, indeed it appears faultless. The thickness of the metal is considerable, measuring in some parts between 3 and 4 inches; it weighs about 12 cwt.

The metal table is of equal excellence, and, like the figure, is in one piece, and very truly cast. Its length is 7 feet 6 inches, and breadth 2 feet 9 inches, and its nearly uniform thickness is 1 inch; it weighs about 8 or 9 cwt. The united strength of nine men, with the help of pulley blocks, was required to raise the effigy and table, and they were successfully removed to the Triforium floor, there to undergo the process of cleansing.

The Purbeck marble bed on which the metal table is laid is in fair preservation; the exposed edges only have suffered some partial disintegration. There were no fastenings whatever to connect the effigy and its bed with the marble beneath, nor with each other; indeed the weight of each part was quite sufficient to make them immovable without the use of some special appliances, and there is no sign whatever in any of the parts to indicate that they had ever been displaced. Nothing was found under the effigy or metal table. They were so truly fitted to each other and to the marble, that there was hardly room for any insertion; and everywhere round the edges the junction was rendered almost airtight by the indurated dust which had lodged there.

The marble bed consists of one long and two short pieces, making up a length of 7 feet 11 inches, and a width of 3 feet 2 inches, as shown in the woodcut. The long piece lies on the north side, and at its north-east corner there is a fracture



PLAN OF MARBLE BED.

as shown, but the piece is only very slightly dislocated. There are four cramps, one of them loose and corroded at one end; the others are sound, and have suffered but slightly from corrosion. The surface of the marble immediately under the metal is as perfect as it was at first,

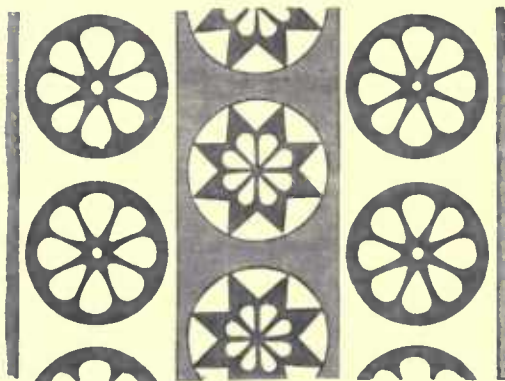
the small covering of dust which had insinuated itself, and was spread over it having tended to preserve it from the action of the air. At the junction of the three pieces of marble there is a neatly cut rectangular hole or notch. On looking through this hole into the space beneath, a flat surface about a foot below the marble bed was observed. This surface was at first thought to be a leaden box or coffin of perhaps a quarter of an inch in thickness. The smallness

of the hole, and the distance to the lead, would not admit of the hand being inserted; from the same cause, the extent of the flat surface beneath could not be ascertained.

On Monday, the 6th of November, a strong light being thrown into this aperture of the tomb, and some of the black dust on the coffin being blown away, a tissue of cloth of gold was discovered in a condition of high preservation, and underneath it was perceived a sound and hard surface of *wood*, so compact that the touch and sound might easily be mistaken for those of lead, as was at first suggested.

On Tuesday, the 14th of November, the Dean having returned to London, directed the two small stones in question to be removed in his presence; Mr. Doyne C. Bell was also on the spot. The four cramps conjectured at first to be of iron were found to be only strips of lead run into cramp-shaped grooves, and the stones themselves were quite free to move. They had no intervening bed of mortar or plaster, but were so truly wrought and fitted together that no such bed was needed.

The two short stones being lifted on to the long one on the north side, the whole chamber or grave, with its coffin, became exposed, the latter nearly filling the space. It was now manifest that under a thin coating of black dust the coffin of wood was covered all over, top, sides, and ends, with cloth of gold, the warp of gold thread similar to that now used by our arras weavers; the weft being only of silk. It is woven in two alternating patterns of great beauty, consisting of striped stars and eight foils. (See woodcut.)

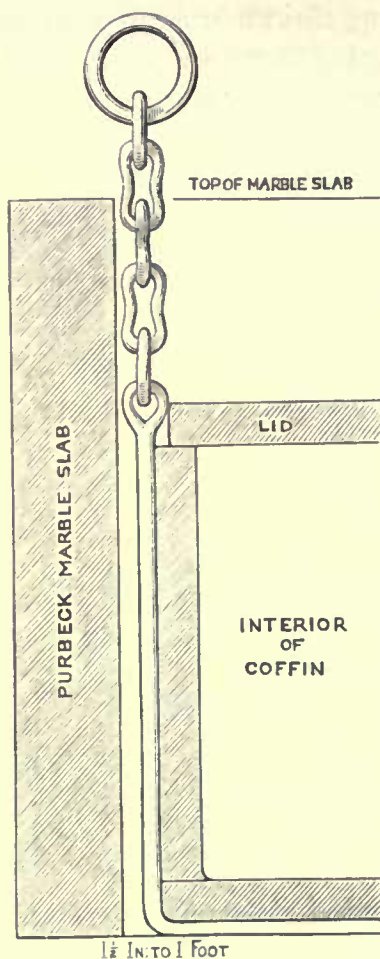


DIAPER OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD ON THE COFFIN OF  
HENRY III. SCALE  $\frac{1}{2}$  LINEAR.

The cloth is in one continuous piece extending over the top, sides, and ends; the four corners not cut away but folded. This cloth, although at first sight in a good state, soon lost, from the action of the air, so much of the strength of its woof of silk and of the silken core within the gold twist that the force of wind from a small pair of hand bellows was sufficient to blow away both dust and silk. Yet, with the exception of a slight disturbance of that part immediately under the small hole in the slab, caused by the first endeavour to discover what was beneath, the whole surface was nearly intact. The colour of the silken fibre was far gone, but some portions of it retained a crimson hue.



The wood of the lid, which is oak, is remarkably sound. Its upper surface is slightly decayed in some parts to the extent of about a quarter of an inch. The under surface appears to be quite sound, and this difference of the two surfaces seems to have caused a warping upwards, so that there is an opening of an inch at the middle of the head, where the fingers may be inserted, and the lid was therefore found to be loose, and only held in position by its own weight.



ARRANGEMENT OF CHAINS TO LET  
DOWN THE COFFIN.

The iron chains at the head, foot, and sides, whereby the coffin was carried and lowered into its chamber, yet remain. They are neatly made of wrought-iron bar, about half an inch in diameter. They terminate with rings 4 inches in diameter, large enough for the hands or for poles to be passed through them, so as to carry and lower the coffin. These rings and a few links of the chain were lying loose between the sides of the coffin and the marble tomb. The rings, when drawn out, rise a few inches above the edge of the tomb. These had been coated with a black resinous substance, which remained tolerably bright and smooth.

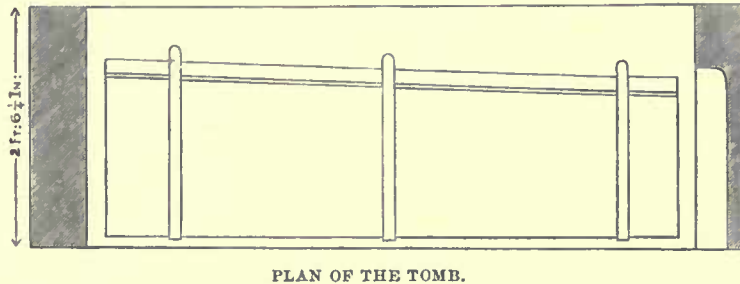
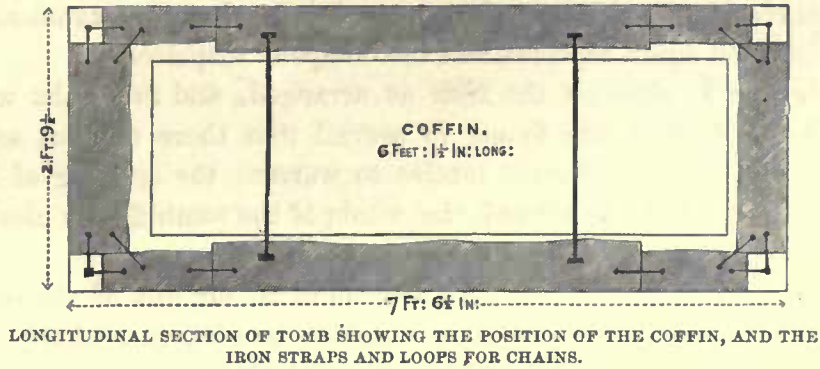
The construction of the sides and ends of the chamber with the coffin inclosed is here shown; this latter measures 6 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch long, 1 foot  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide at the head, and 1 foot 9 inches wide at the foot. Its top is at the head  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches above the floor, and at the foot about 2 inches less. There is a recess of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep at the foot wrought in the block, made apparently to

receive the foot of the coffin, but it is not wide enough, and therefore the forming of the recess has been of no practical use.

It will be seen on the plan on the next page that at each corner there are four iron cramps, and two long ones across to bind the tops of the side-slabs. All these cramps are corroded, but not extensively, as in most of the other Royal Tombs. There is no evaporation arising from below, owing to the impervious nature of the marble slab forming the floor of the chamber.

On the conclusion of this investigation, the Dean directed the marble covering

to be replaced, and the tomb to be reopened on the following Thursday at four o'clock, requesting Mr. Doyne Bell to communicate with Mr. C. Knight Watson



and Mr. Scharf, and directing Mr. Poole to inform Mr. Douglas Galton, of the Board of Works, so as to secure their attendance on the occasion.

On the 16th November there assembled the Dean, the Right Hon. A. S. Ayrton, First Commissioner of Works, Mr. Douglas Galton, Mr. C. Knight Watson, Mr. George Scharf, Mr. Doyne C. Bell, Mr. C. S. Perceval, Mr. Buckler, and Mr. Robertson. The two marble slabs covering the south side were again removed and accurate observations made of the structure, the cloth of gold, and the coffin; the dimensions of the various parts were recorded, and several notes and sketches were taken by Mr. G. Scharf. The separation of the cloth of gold at the head of the coffin-lid, caused, perhaps, partly by the warping there, enabled the cloth to be turned over at that point so that the surface of the wood beneath could be examined. It was then seen to be a beautiful slab of hard oak, smoothly wrought to almost a polish, thus showing that the apparent decay under the rectangular hole in the slab of marble was of but very limited extent.

After a most minute inspection of every part that could be thus seen, it was



determined to reassemble on Monday the 28th inst., that the coffin-lid might be removed and the contents seen and carefully investigated; preparation was made for new copper cramps to be substituted for those of iron, and it was arranged that the final closing should take place immediately after the examination. The two slabs were then again replaced and the company dispersed.

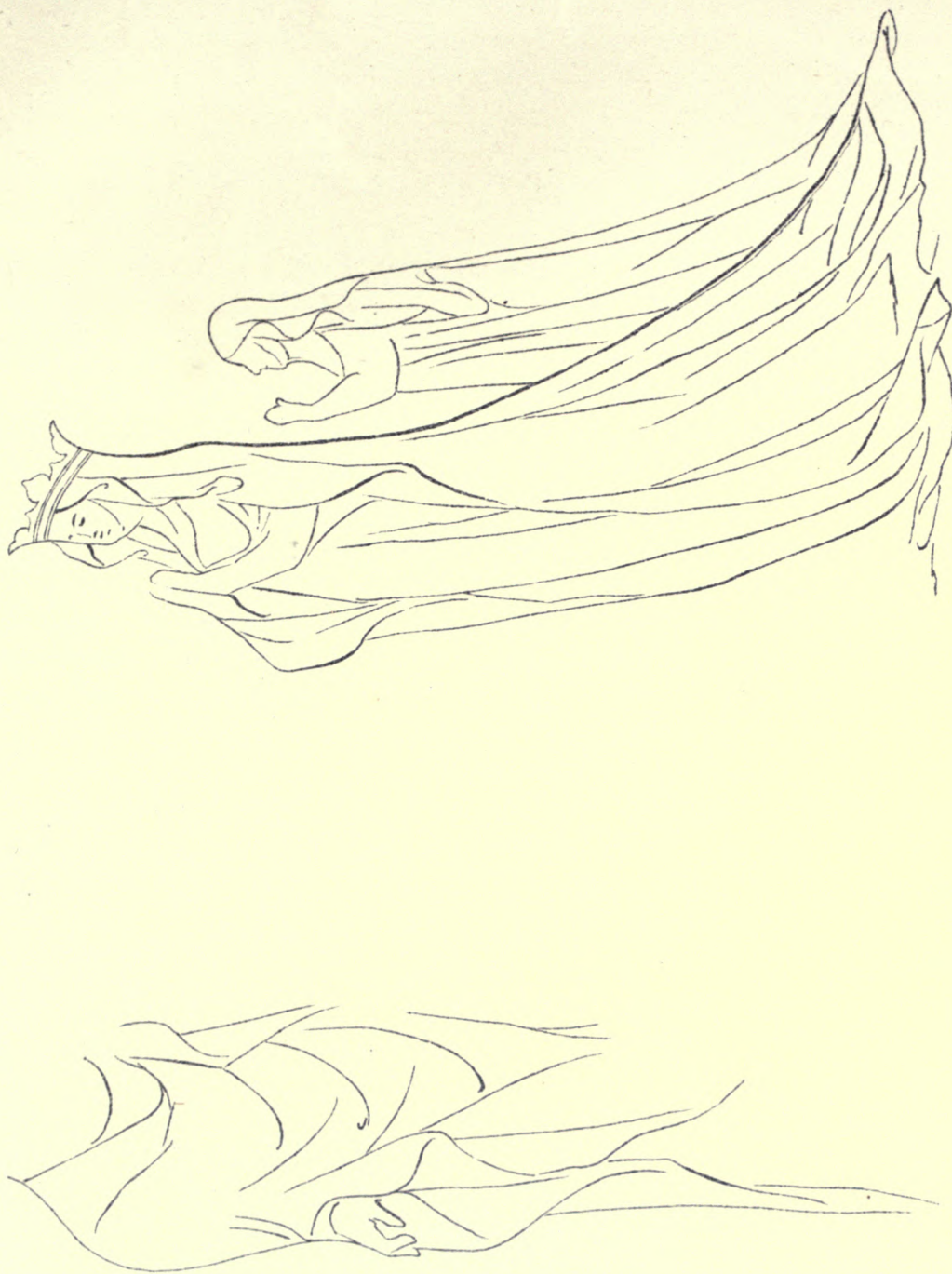
The meeting took place on the 28th as arranged, and the slabs were again removed, when a feeling was found to prevail that there did not seem, upon historical grounds, to be sufficient motive to warrant the opening of the coffin. The project was therefore abandoned, the whole of the tomb finally closed in, and the effigy and bed replaced in their position over it.<sup>a</sup>

No fragment or insertion of any kind was found among any of the parts of the tomb that were removed or exposed, but during the cleansing of the bronze bed of the effigy an engraved outline was discovered in the metal; it is an unfinished group of three figures, composed of a robed and crowned female,<sup>b</sup> standing in an attitude of devotion, and turned towards a figure of greater stature, also standing, but incomplete, showing only the robe and the right hand, while behind is a smaller female figure, also erect and devotional. The whole group is evidently the work of an accomplished artist. It may be some royal personage with an attendant in presence of a saint. It may be (although, perhaps, the crown is against the supposition) that the stately female figure represents the Abbess of Fontevraux receiving the heart of Henry III. on the occasion of his final re-interment, as described in the document discovered by Mr. Burt in the archives of the abbey. A cast was made from the engraving, and placed in the Chapter House. (See Plate XXIII.)

<sup>a</sup> The only question which could arise was as to whether the King was buried in the sarcophagus of Edward the Confessor. It was evident that the wooden coffin in which he lies was made for him: the polish, the perfect state of the work, the ample folds of the pall, all proved this: and the Confessor's coffin was probably of stone.

<sup>b</sup> This figure is about 10 inches high.

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ENGRAVING ON METAL TABLE OF THE TOMB OF HENRY III.

SCALE  $\frac{1}{2}$  LINEAR.







## APPENDIX (A).

### MR. SANGSTER'S REPORT UPON THE HUMAN BONES FOUND WITHIN THE TOMB OF RICHARD II. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The examination of the bones led to the conclusion that one skeleton belonged to a male and the other to a female.

Judging from the length and size altogether of the male bones, there can be no doubt that they belonged to a man nearly six feet in height.

The male skeleton was nearly perfect, the bones being all separate, very dry, and in a good state of preservation; the only ones which presented any decay were the right femur and the upper part of the sacrum.

Only the upper part of one scapula (right) was present, consisting of the head, two-thirds of the spine, together with the acromion and coracoid processes.

There were two upper pieces of the sternum. There was only one bone of the sacrum, which was much broken and decayed.

The following is a complete list of the male bones.

#### Skull

#### Right scapula and clavicle

- „ humerus
- „ radius
- „ ulna
- „ { os innominatum or
- { ilium, ischium and pubis
- „ femur } yellower and more
- „ tibia } corroded than
- „ fibula } the left
- „ patella
- „ astragalus and os calcis

#### Left humerus

- „ radius
- „ ulna
- „ ilium, ischium, and pubis
- „ femur
- „ tibia
- „ fibula
- „ astragalus

The missing bones were the following:—

#### Left clavicle

- „ scapula
- „ patella
- „ os calcis

the lower jaw, some few vertebræ, ribs, small bones of the hands and feet and os coccygis.

The skull was large. The superciliary ridges were very small. The sutures were all perfect, and the only one which was gaping was the coronal (connecting the frontal and parietal bones), the edges being sharp and well defined, showing that the bones had separated quite naturally.



The posterior part of the skull presented a very distorted appearance, and, instead of the occipital bone being convex externally, it was flat; and the lines (to which the strong muscles of the neck were attached), which usually curve outwards, were very prominent, and ran directly outwards. The base of the skull was perfect, excepting the styloid processes of the temporal bone, which had been broken off. The right mastoid process appeared to have been destroyed. In the upper jaw there was only the remains of one old stump; the teeth had fallen out by reason of the decay of the alveolar processes. Immediately under the left eye (in the superior maxilla or upper jaw), and continuous with the orbit, was a large circular piece of bone broken out.

The pelvis was perfect with the exception of the lower part of the sacrum. The remaining bones of the arms and legs were entire.

The bones which were recognised as belonging to the female skeleton were but few in number, belonged principally to the left side, and were very perfect.

They were the following:—

Skull, second cervical vertebra, two pieces of sternum and pelvis.

Left scapula	Right tibia
„ humerus	„ fibula
„ ulna	„ patella
„ femur	
„ fibula (tibia wanting)	
„ astragalus	

The skull was small; and, with the exception of the left temporal bone and styloid processes, was entire. The teeth were all missing. The lower jaw was wanting. The pelvis was large and well-formed, and measured from anterior superior spinous process on one side, to the same point on the other, 10 inches, from sacrum to pubis  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and the transverse diameter was 5 inches.

Common to both: Twenty-nine ribs, beside fragments. Thirty-six vertebræ, more or less perfect, beside fragments. Metacarpal, metatarsal, and phalangeal bones, sixty-one in all. Seven tarsal bones.

There were ten teeth in good condition, five of which were double-fanged. One tooth was much decayed.

CHAS. SANGSTER, Surgeon.

15, Lambeth Terrace, 2nd September, 1871.

#### *Memorandum by JOHN W. OGLE, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.*

“There were two skulls, one much larger than the other, with a retiring forehead, very full and broad at the back of the head; the other, apparently that of a woman, having more forehead and much less preponderance behind. No lower jaw to either, and no teeth in the upper jaws. The large skull had the frontoparietal suture partially separate, and the other one had the left temporal bone almost quite wanting. No mark of injury otherwise on either. Bones of every part of the human body; also leg-bones, and a scapula of other animals. Curious, dark, very light-



weighted mass, said to have come out of the skull ; this was reddish-brown, very friable, something of the shape and size of a patella, smooth and concave on its inner surface, very rough and fissured, and elevated on its outer surface. Query—Dried blood, or brain, or bone.”

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*Letter from* PROFESSOR GEORGE BUSK, F.R.S.

32, Harley Street, 8th March, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. SCHARF,

I have measured the seed with which you filled the male skull found in the tomb of Richard II., and find that it occupies about eighty-nine cubic inches.

This capacity is below the average of English skulls, and very considerably under that of the more ancient inhabitants of Britain. The mean capacity estimated from the data given by Thurnam and Davis in “*Crania Britannica*” of ancient Britons, as they term them, appears to be 96·3 cubic inches, of those in the Roman and Romano-British barrows 92·8 inches, and of the so-called Anglo-Saxons 91·2 inches.

I am unable to refer to satisfactory data respecting more recent skulls, but I fancy the mean capacity for men in this country may be taken at from 90 to 92 cubic inches. It would seem, therefore, that if this skull was filled as full as it would hold of the rape-seed, and that the seed has not shrunk since, King Richard the Second was not distinguished by the size of his brain. What its quality may have been is quite another question.

Yours very truly,

GEO. BUSK.



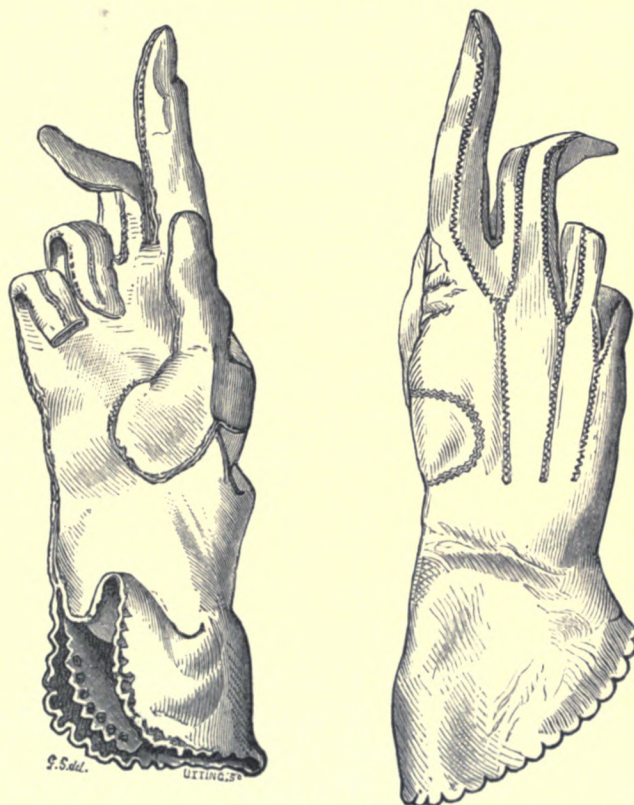
## APPENDIX (B).

## LIST OF OBJECTS FOUND IN THE TOMB OF KING RICHARD II. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

1. Plumber's shears with fleur-de-lis mark.
2. Wooden staff, query bow or part of a sceptre.
3. Brown leather riding gloves, one pair. The fingers of the right hand bent, those of the left quite straight. They are of flexible leather, without lining, gilding, or indication of the former attachment of precious stones. They are sewn with leather of the same colour, and appear by their creases to have been worn. (See woodcut.)
4. A smaller pair of leather gloves, much more rotten, about seven inches long.
5. Double rose in lead, the same pattern on both sides.
6. Four small fragments of green porphyry slab, smooth, flat surface.
7. Small fragments of wood, like twigs.<sup>a</sup> One piece of very light yellow colour, shaped like a reel, having black lines round it.
8. Pieces of linen, leather of shoes, binding, and plugget of tow.
9. Four pieces of shaped cork.
10. A handful of toy marbles.
11. Three tobacco-pipe bowls, one with stem five inches long.
12. Seventy-two copper coins and tokens.
13. Alabaster carved flower, with green centre, outer leaves gilt, a fragment.
14. Two segments of a common leather ball, measuring  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches from apex to apex.
15. Gilt wooden finial, perhaps part of a sceptre.
16. Fragments of window-glass, plain and wrought.
17. Decayed pieces of Purbeck marble.
18. Small square piece of cedar-wood.
19. Iron buckle.
20. A Jew's harp.
21. Leaden round buttons, dog's bell for collar.
22. One flat button of copper gilt, with basket pattern on it.
23. Bird's bones.
24. Two long pieces of corroded steel, query weapons, one of them was 1 foot  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch long.
25. Ten human teeth found in sifting the dust, in good condition, five of them double-pronged.

<sup>a</sup> The bark upon these was perfect when they were first found, but they almost all crumbled to dust when touched. These had doubtless been placed there as a precaution against witchcraft. Similar twigs were found on opening Henry IV.'s tomb at Canterbury Cathedral. See "A brief account of the examination of the tomb of Henry IV. 21 Aug. 1832," by J. H. S. [Dr. Spry, then canon of Canterbury.]

26. Three broken knives with handles, one of them a small table-knife.
27. Iron nails of the coffins.
28. A paving-tile, painted with a shield bearing three lions.
29. Seven silver coins (a harp on one).
30. Fragment of wood, possibly of a sceptre.
31. Small fragment of a stone cusp or spandril.
32. Fragments of red glazed pottery, like of a pipkin.
33. A small piece of corroded sheet-lead.
34. One iron square-pointed nail, seven inches long.
35. Nine fragments of iron nails, seven with heads, and the longest measuring  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches, were found among the human bones.
36. A peach-stone. Splinters of wood.
37. Bottle-stamp, Dr. Blair, 1763. [Dr. John Blair, prebendary of Westminster, 1761-1782.]
38. Two cut pieces of glass and crystal, apparently from a ring.
39. Small lump of uncertain matter formed like a patella.
40. Some fragments of the silk pall with a spotted pattern.



ONE OF THE LEATHER RIDING GLOVES FOUND IN THE TOMB OF RICHARD II.  
LENGTH  $8\frac{1}{2}$  IN.



XIII.—*Notes on the Keep, the Roman Pharos, and the Shafts at the Shot Yard Battery, Dover Castle.* By LIEUTENANT W. EMERSON PECK, R.E. Communicated through Her Majesty's Secretary of State for War.

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Read June 27th, 1872.

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I.—THE KEEP OF DOVER CASTLE.

TRADITIONALLY the erection of the Keep of Dover Castle is ascribed to Bishop Gundulf, the brother-in-law of William the Conqueror; but, while the absence of ornaments and the severe simplicity of the interior mark its early character, the style of the exterior, in which the flat pilaster, so typical of the early Norman castle, has developed into the protruding square turret, seems to denote a later date.

As the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. record the large expenditure of 1,085*l.* on Dover Castle, it is possible that the exterior was remodelled at that time, a surmise which derives support from the discovery of a second string-course beneath the present one, during the repairs of the upper part of the south-west tower.

The following records of expenditure are derived from *The Architect* of May 27, 1869.

The Pipe Rolls of 1160 allude to the castle being repaired, and notice the various repairs and additions to existing buildings.

The castle was nearly rebuilt under Mauricius (Engeniator) at an expenditure in—

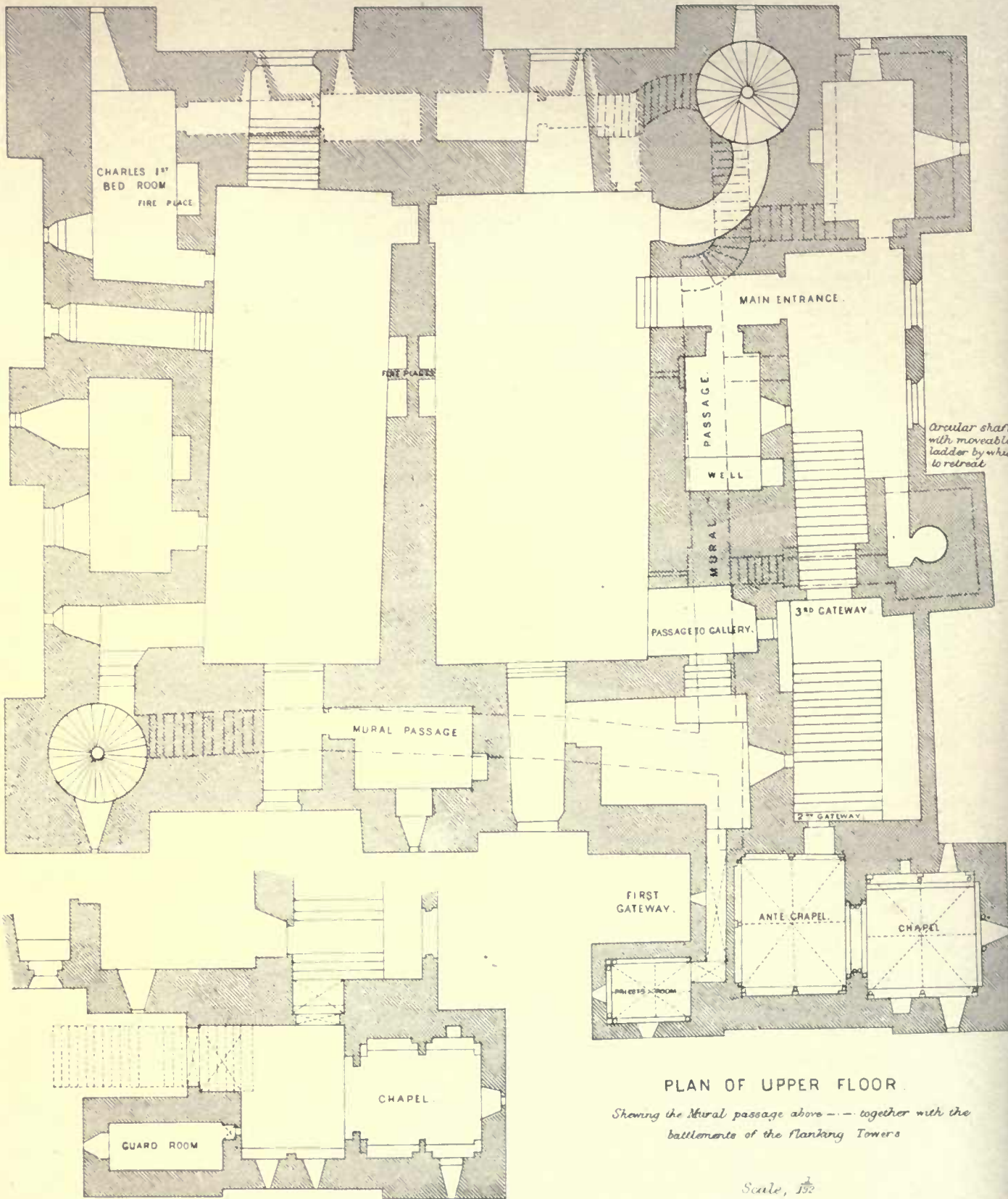
		£	s.	d.	
1180	of	165	13	4	
1183	„	129	16	11	
1184	„	171	8	10	
1185	„	299	2	1	on <i>turris</i> alone
1186	„	207	9	0	on the keep and <i>cingulum</i>
Total		1,085	16	0	

exclusive of architects' fees. (As a means of comparison it may be observed that Orford Castle was built in 1163 at a total cost of 323*l.*)









FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF CHAPEL &c.

DOVER CASTLE.  
PLAN OF THE KEEP SHEWING KING JOHN'S CHAPEL.

In an entry in the Close Rolls of 1223, Henry III. orders the church to be repaired at the same time as the castle.

From 1223 to 1239 a sum of 2,923*l.* was spent on works, principally the outer bailey walls.

In Henry III.'s time, A.D. 1232, an item is charged for making the great gate at the going out of the great barbican; also for repairing the King's apartments and chapel in 1239.

The spur passage was built in 1229 at a cost of 100*l.*, "*in una volta facienda ad exeundum de castro versus campum.*"

The total expenditure by Edward IV. amounted to 10,000*l.*

Disregarding the external approaches and staircase, the Keep may be approximately described as a square pile about 90 feet long by 95 feet broad, divided by a central party-wall into rooms of unequal size.

Three floors, the basement for stores, the first floor for the garrison, and the upper floor for the banqueting hall and palace apartments, including a gallery at the south end, bring one to the battlements, a total height of 80 feet, or 88 feet in the angle towers, the whole being surmounted by a wooden roof.

The only original entrance to the building was on the upper floor, whence circular stairs in the north-east and south-west turrets communicated with the other floors. No provision appears to have been made for lifting heavy stores from floor to floor through a shaft as at Rochester, unless, indeed, the fireplaces and flues in the north-west corner be subsequent modifications of the original shaft.

On the lower floor, the external walls of which were solid and 18 feet thick, a fine specimen of one of the old loopholes with the steps leading to it is preserved.

In addition to the two principal rooms four dungeons are formed in the solid basement, two of which under the chapel do duty as a reserve tank, the other two as powder magazines; an opening or recess in the eastern wall has still to be explained.

On the first and upper floors sleeping accommodation is provided in small closets formed in the thickness of the walls, and the narrow loopholes are replaced by small windows, the comfort of the occupants being proportionately increased as the danger from missiles decreased.

The well from which the garrison drew their supply of water opens on the upper floor, originally 300 feet in depth; it has been partly filled up with rubbish



thrown in by the French prisoners of Blenheim and Ramilies who were confined here in 1705, and whose names are inscribed on the walls of many parts of the building. The tradition of this being the well which Harold swore to deliver up with the Castle of Dover to William of Normandy may be dismissed as unsupported by sufficient evidence, it being probable that the disused well near the Married Quarters, over which stood the old well-tower, was the only one in existence at that date.

In the party-wall of the upper floor large plain semicircular arches serve as relieving arches to small fireplaces, two in each room; it is possible, however, that they may, as at Rochester, have been originally open, and the whole banqueting floor have thus been one room.

At the south-east angle steps in the thickness of the wall lead to a small chamber, whence access was gained to the gallery, as well as from the mural passage above; a narrow passage also leads from this point to the upper floor of the chapel and the adjoining priest's room.

On the outside of the Keep, and open to the sky, a wide flight of stairs (no doubt interrupted by drawbridges) starts from the middle of the south-east side, and gives access to the upper floor near the northern angle. Three massive gateways, finished above with battlemented parapets, spanned the approach, which was commanded by a flanking tower at its highest point.

Strong walls connected these gateways, and inclosed as many separate courts, inaccessible from below.

A passage in the thickness of the wall above the upper floor, communicating with the circular staircases in the angle turrets, ran round the building, and opened on the tops of the flanking towers, which were (with one exception) otherwise inaccessible.

As the enemy therefore attacked each successive gate, not only were they exposed to a flanking fire, and to missiles and stones hurled from the tower attacked, but also to a fire in reverse from the parapet of the gateway last passed. And, when these difficulties were surmounted and the assault on the main doorway commenced, the defenders could, by descending a circular shaft in the last tower, join in hand-to-hand combat, and, if worsted, by withdrawing their ladders after them, retire unmolested into the upper portions of the building.

On the completion of the outer bailey walls the defensive arrangements became less essential, and for the convenience of the important residents of the Keep, as well as to dignify the approach, the first courtyard was converted into the ornate suite of rooms now known as King John's Chapel.

An octopartite vaulting of tufa was thrown over the open space, supported partly on the partition wall, and partly on an inside casing of ashlar, which also served to carry an intermediate floor of red tiles, bedded on fine concrete, and resting on massive square oak beams.

The mixture of Norman and Early-English forms, and the evidence afforded by the identity of the mouldings with some of those employed at the rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral by its second architect, English William, fix the date of this alteration at about 1180.

No signs of an altar remain in the so-called chapel on the basement floor, but the fact of the two lower courses of ashlar on the east side being replaced by rubble suggests that a raised step or footpace for the altar to stand on may have at one time existed. A mutilated piscina is built in the wall on the south side of the east window, as well as an awmry on the north wall. From chases cut in the stone-work it appears that shelves have been fixed in the south-east angle, about a foot above the floor, and also across the first recessed arch in the south side. Raised benches or sedilia were formed under each of the recessed arches on the sides, and the imposts in the centre which divide them are marked by an attached shaft terminating at the under side of the floor joists. Semicircular-headed loopholes admit light on the sides, as also larger windows at the east end; but at some subsequent period stone lintels were inserted in place of the arches. An extra thickness of ashlar was used on the north and east sides, in the former terminating at the upper floor, but in the latter carried about three feet higher, with an additional course immediately under the window, in which is to be seen a small hole as if for the drain of a piscina. From the fragments of stone and mortar on the middle of this course, and the remains of three cramps in the window above (which was partly blocked up), it may be surmised that a reredos or something of a similar nature has been added to the structure. An awmry is constructed in the north side. The opposite window is incomplete owing to its opening coinciding with a quoin of the external wall.

The semicircular chevroned arches on both floors between the two apartments are of a bold span, and richly ornamented; the outer or hood moulding is repeated at the east ends, and in the upper floor as a pointed arch; the latter moulding had been hacked away at some period, and it was only by the coincidence of the very small portions of the deep-cut hollows which remained that the section was ascertained.

Vaulting ribs embellished by a dog-tooth ornament spring from the triple capitals in the corners, the central shaft of which is tapered off, and loses itself



in the wall. The bosses at the intersections of the ribs are restored from a mutilated portion of the original one which was found in the building.

The first bay on the north side of the outer room on the upper floor has been cut through and made good with brickwork, a four-centred Tudor arch being introduced into the opening as if to form a doorway which would communicate by a temporary staircase with the steps to the main entrance, and it is to be remarked that near this point a doorway of a similar character has been broken through from the main staircase into one of the side-rooms so as to give access to the first floor of the Keep.

The priest's room, or, as it is popularly termed, the confessional, was a portion of the original defensive tower (the room below with its rude wagon vault being probably used as a guard-room). It has been ornamented with clustered shafts and capitals, and has plain vaulting ribs; owing to the original door being close to the side-wall, and the consequent want of space for the complete set of shafts on that side, these ribs are distorted, and present an unsightly appearance.

The vaulting ribs of the chapel are also irregular though to a less degree, owing to the manner in which the walls were originally laid out of unequal lengths on the two opposite sides, obliging the architect to vary slightly the position of his shafts so as to divide the distances. This peculiarity is a strong argument that the present ornamental interior is only an addition to walls already existing.

From the raised footpace and the piscina it might appear that, contrary to the custom of church architects of having no occupied rooms above a chapel, the lower floor was at one time used for purposes of worship, though with the old church so near it would not appear to be much required; at all events it may have been of subsidiary use for state receptions in time when religious ceremonies formed a large part of all set pageants. As regards the upper floors, whatever may have been the original design, there appears to be little doubt that in later times, on account of the convenience of a direct entrance from the palace apartments, and the temporary one from the first floor for the use of servants, divine service was held there, as shown by the remains of the reredos and piscina.

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## II.—THE ROMAN PHAROS, DOVER CASTLE.

The Pharos consists of a mass of masonry, varying in thickness from 12 feet at the bottom to about 7 feet at the top. Internally a square tower with sides 13 feet 7 inches is carried up perpendicularly to a height of 42 feet; the outline is on the outside altered to an octagon gradually diminishing in circumference towards the top.

From the inclination of what appear to be portions of the original external face it is probable that the outside was carried up in one uniform batter, and not in a series of perpendicular faces, set back on each story, as in the case of the Roman Tower at Boulogne.

The height was divided into five different stories, each of which was lighted as a rule by four semicircular arched windows two feet wide. On the upper floor the width was increased to four feet, while on the ground floor one opening towards the south, four feet wide, served as a doorway. What may have existed on the east and west faces is obliterated by the mediæval alterations. A variety is given on the south face by the omission of the windows on the alternate (second and fourth) stories compensated by an increase to three feet in the width of the centre window; the object of this change is not apparent unless we suppose that the existence of a staircase on this side may have accounted for it.

The masonry throughout is tufa, similar in character to that still found in the valley below, at different places, and amongst others near the Buckland Schools, the facework being composed of small squared blocks. The whole is bonded together with two or three courses of Roman tiles at intervals of four feet; and with a view perhaps of drying the mass a number of air-holes are carried through at irregular intervals; these can be traced in greatest numbers on the south side and towards the ground, a little distance above which a triple set leads from each internal angle to the three nearest external faces.

An excavation on the north-east side showed the external foundations to consist of several courses of tiles in three sets-off, the edges of which following the lines of the octagon prove that this form was a feature of the original design, and not a consequence of the injury resulting from lapse of time to the courses of a square tower, or the alterations carried out by the individual architects, as has been suggested.

The tile-arches of the windows are a few inches wider than the opening between



the tufa jambs, the junctions being marked by an abacus of two projecting courses of tile.

One window, that of the upper story on the south side, retains its sill of tile, and a low dwarf parapet wall of the same material, across the external opening, as if to prevent accidents, and with a view perhaps of obviating the awkward appearance which would result from the meeting of the perpendicular jambs and the sloping external face; the window is terminated abruptly about a foot back from the front.

Not much can be deduced from the building itself as to its object, but there is little doubt, from its commanding position at the narrowest part of the straits, that it served the double purpose of a watchtower and a lighthouse or landmark to point out the position of the Roman port of Dubris. Whether the masonry to be seen at the Drop Redoubt formed portion of a similar structure in connection with it cannot now be determined.

Its use as a watchtower seems to be indicated by the fact that its southern face is turned directly on Cape Griznez, the nearest point of the French coast, and as a consequence its eastern and western sides, though not directly in view, look towards the nearest Roman castles, those of Rutupiæ and Portum Lemanis near Sandwich and Hythe respectively.

In the remodelling the Pharos underwent at the hands of Constable Burjent, the principal objects seem to have been to reconstruct the exterior so as to be in keeping with the belfry which it was intended to add on the top, while a secondary motive may perhaps have been to provide a building in connection with the adjoining church, where the bodies of persons brought from a distance for burial in the graveyard might await the ceremony of interment.

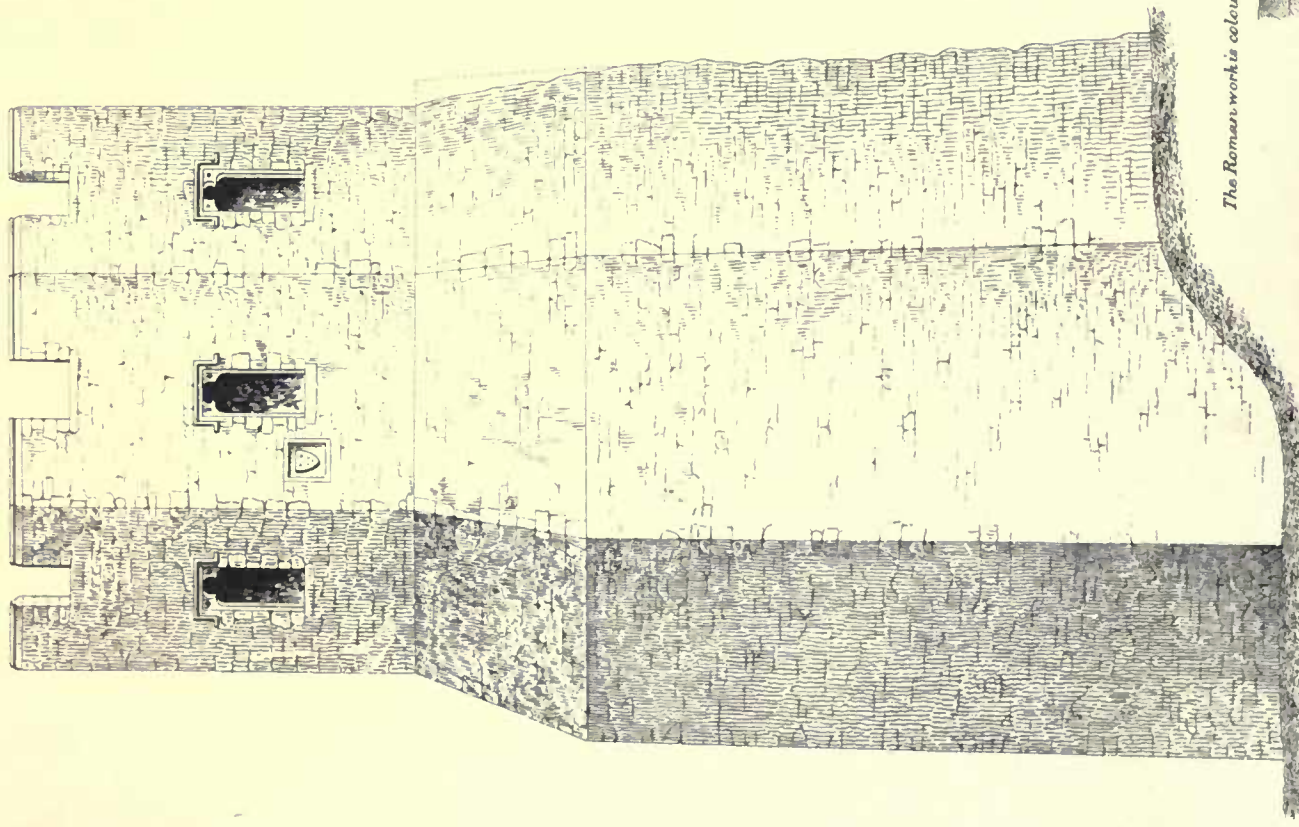
Some points of resemblance have been suggested between it and the curious "Lanternes des Morts" found in Brittany, but the primary object of the latter, viz. maintaining an elevated light over the cemetery, could not have been carried out here without danger to the wooden roof.

The alterations effected consist in blocking up all windows and inclosing the original lines of the Roman work with a casing of stone and squared flints, thus leaving a darkened tower divided into two stories by a wooden floor, the access to which was gained by a large archway immediately opposite the west door of the church. Two splayed recesses were found on the west and north sides, but are so mutilated as to give little clue to their object.

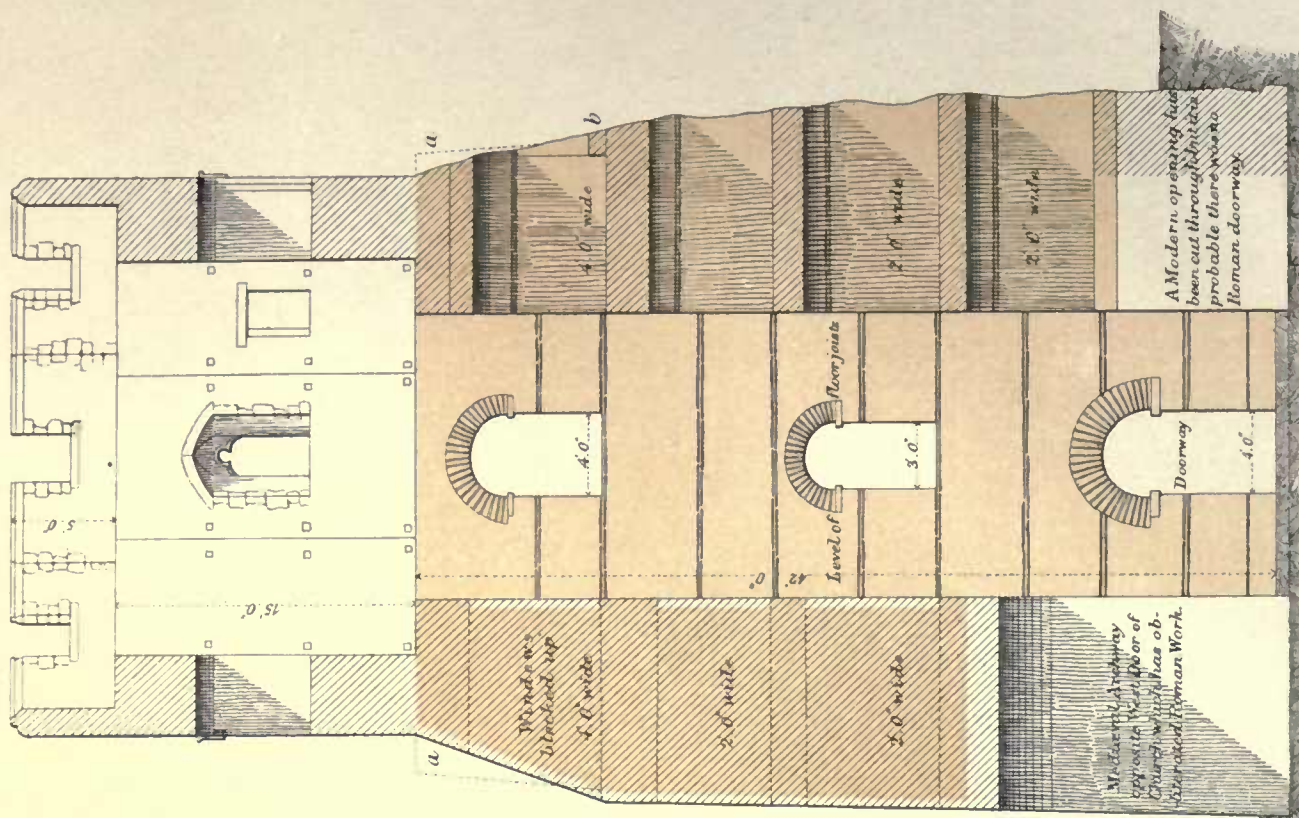
The sudden decrease in size towards the top may be accounted for if we suppose that the upper edge of the Pharos would have suffered most from the







The Roman work is coloured.



A Modern opening has been cut through the wall, probable there was a Roman doorway.

EXTERNAL ELEVATION ON THE NORTH SIDE.

SECTION ON A.B.

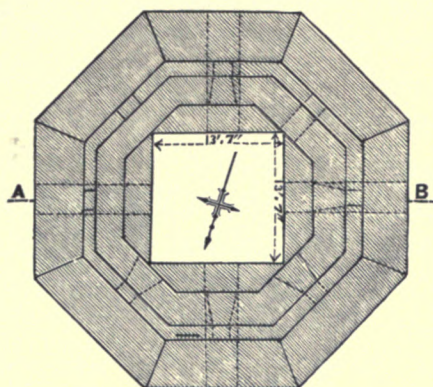
Scale 1/2 Feet to an Inch.



action of the weather, and, being considered unsafe to carry the weight of the superstructure, was cut away by the architect.

The addition on the top consists of an ornamental octagonal room, 15 feet high, lighted on each side by a well-proportioned Perpendicular window, except on the east and south-east faces, which on account of the proximity of the church were left blank, and the south-west side, where a small opening with a flat lintel served some unknown purpose.

Three tiers of holes, five feet apart, two to each side, marked the place where a strong wooden framework for carrying the bells had been fixed, and above the roof a light parapet wall pierced with one embrasure on each face terminated the whole.



GROUND-PLAN OF PHAROS. DOVER.

Scale 18 feet to 1 inch.

### III.—NOTES ON THE SHAFTS DISCOVERED AT THE SHOT YARD BATTERY, DOVER CASTLE.

In excavating the sites for the two 10-inch guns and their magazine about ten deep shafts were discovered sunk in the solid chalk. Rectangular in form with the corners slightly rounded off, and averaging four feet square, they reached a depth of from 16 to 20 feet below the surface. The contents consisted principally of a light friable earth much resembling decayed matter, with occasional layers of charcoal, containing large numbers of the shells of oysters, limpets, cockles, and whelks, together with bones of many kinds of animals, those



of the horse, ox, and pig mostly predominating; intermixed were great quantities of coarse broken pottery, similar in character to the Roman cinerary urns, often blackened by fire, and occasional fragments of vessels for holding liquids, both in a red and a black ware. Flints were of common occurrence, some unmistakeably fashioned as cutting instruments and arrow-heads, and numerous iron nails; a few spear-heads and knife-blades were also found, besides a stirrup-iron and a very perfect iron spur with fixed rowel, the surface of which had been first bronzed and then gilded; also an ivory ornament probably used as a brooch.

In form and contents these shafts closely agree with those opened by the Hon. R. C. Neville at the Roman station of Chesterford, as described in *The Archaeological Journal* for June 1855, and also by Charles Warne, Esq. F.S.A. at Ewell, in Surrey, alluded to in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries<sup>a</sup> in January 1861.

Their use and object have been a subject of much discussion; the commonly received opinion, that they were intended as *cloacæ*, is hardly in accordance with the fact that no discolouration of the chalk can be traced; while the unnecessary labour involved in excavating them as receptacles for rubbish, when their site is within a few feet of the edge of a then sea-washed cliff, is equally against this supposition. No evidence exists to identify them with the underground receptacles for grain still in use in the East.

From the character of the pottery it seems more probable that their object was sepulchral, in which case the presence of the bones would be explained by a reversion to the earlier British sacrificial rites in connection with burial, though it would still be difficult to account for the mutilated condition of all the pottery; this peculiarity, however, may perhaps be the result of some local causes, as the graves at Chesterford supply many unbroken specimens of ware.

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#### DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE XXIV.—Plan of the upper floor of the Keep of Dover Castle; and a portion of the floor beneath, showing the chapel and guard room.

PLATE XXV.—External elevation and section of the Pharos. The section is taken on line A B in the ground-plan on the previous page. The Roman work is coloured yellow. At *a a* the angles of the Roman work had been worn away before the mediæval octagonal belfry had been added. In the upper window on the right-hand side of the section, at *b*, are remains of a dwarf wall of Roman times to protect the window opening. The courses of Roman tiles are indicated by black lines.

<sup>a</sup> Proc. 2d Ser. i. 309; see also Proc. i. 218, for an earlier account.

XIV.—*On Flint Workings at Cissbury, Sussex*, by ERNEST HENRY WILLETT, ESQ.

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Read April 8, 1875.

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IN 1868 Colonel A. Lane Fox, F.S.A. contributed a paper to this Society, on the Sussex Hill Forts, and on the principles of castrametation which a most careful examination of the whole series led him to conclude had been adopted by the tribes who had constructed them.<sup>a</sup>

In the course of his inquiry, and in the description of the seventeen earth-works that line our Sussex downs, he mentioned the occurrence, in several places, of various pits in and about the camps. The instances are at Wolstanbury, Highdown Hill, Mount Caburn, and Cissbury—most notably the latter.

This paper was shortly followed by another, giving a detailed account of the extensive excavations carried on by him at Highdown and at Cissbury.<sup>b</sup> In this communication he dwells at length on the pits situate within the latter camp, their character and contents; the flint implements especially are elaborately classified and fully described by him. The examination of about thirty pits resulted in the following information,—to which I may be permitted briefly to refer in order to be intelligible. That they were from 20 to 70 feet wide, and of a depth of from 5 to 7 feet below the surface. That they contained a great quantity of flint implements, a few bones, dead land-shells, charcoal and fragments of coarse pottery distributed in layers of red clay and chalk rubble, the pottery being only found immediately beneath the turf.

In considering the object and use of these pits, Colonel Lane Fox states that he believes them to have been for the purpose of obtaining flint for manufacturing implements, and subsequently to have been used for habitations.

I hope to add confirmatory evidence of both of these theories.

I believe that the exploration of Grime's Graves in Norfolk first gave an idea of the labour necessary to procure the flints for manufacturing implements in the Neolithic age, and very great was the amount of information contributed by

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, xlii. 27—52.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, xlii. 53—76.



their patient investigator, Canon Greenwell.<sup>a</sup> The question being once started, fresh discoveries have been, and will I hope yet continue to be, made in other parts of the country; and it is the endeavour to link together the facts elicited by Canon Greenwell, with those already noticed by Colonel Lane Fox at Cissbury, by means of fresh evidence obtained quite recently, that is my excuse for making this communication.

In March 1873, when on a visit to Canon Greenwell, I received from him a description of his excavations at Grime's Graves, when he expressed his belief that the Cissbury pits were of the same nature, and advised a deeper search to be made in them.

In the autumn of the same year I examined one of the pits which had been previously explored, and found that what on first sight had appeared to be the chalk bottom, was not solid, but composed of large blocks, their interstices filled in with rubble. On moving these, it was found that the pit, which had been left undisturbed by its first explorers at a depth of 6 feet, was in reality much deeper, and it was not till 14 feet from the surface of the ground that the solid chalk bottom was reached, through *débris* of chalk rubble and blocks interspersed with flint implements, charcoal, and red-deer bones.

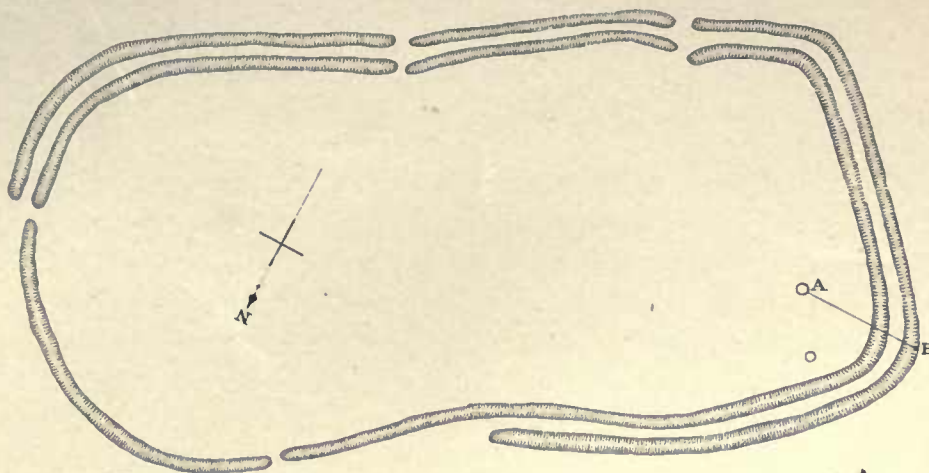
Leading from this open shaft were small chambers of about 5 feet in diameter, connected with one another; of these I took careful measurements and memoranda, but unfortunately, owing to the loss of the note-book containing them, I am unable to record them with accuracy.

I then determined to open one that had not been previously disturbed, in order to examine the contents from the surface to the base, and I selected the pit of which the position is shown at A on the plan. (Plate XXVI. fig. 1.) The opening was commenced last August, in the presence of Professor Boyd Dawkins and myself. The site was indicated by a depression of about 16 inches from the slope of the hill.

The result of the excavation showed—first, surface soil similar to what is found over all this side of the camp, containing chipped flints, flakes, and broken implements, land and oyster shells, numerous water-worn pebbles, a few pieces of bone, and fragments of coarse pottery. Below this, to a total depth of 5 feet, came a layer of small chalk, rubble, and loam, of a yellowish colour, containing a few flint implements, one or two fragments of bone, and deposits of charcoal surrounded by calcined chalk. This stratum seems to extend beyond the area of

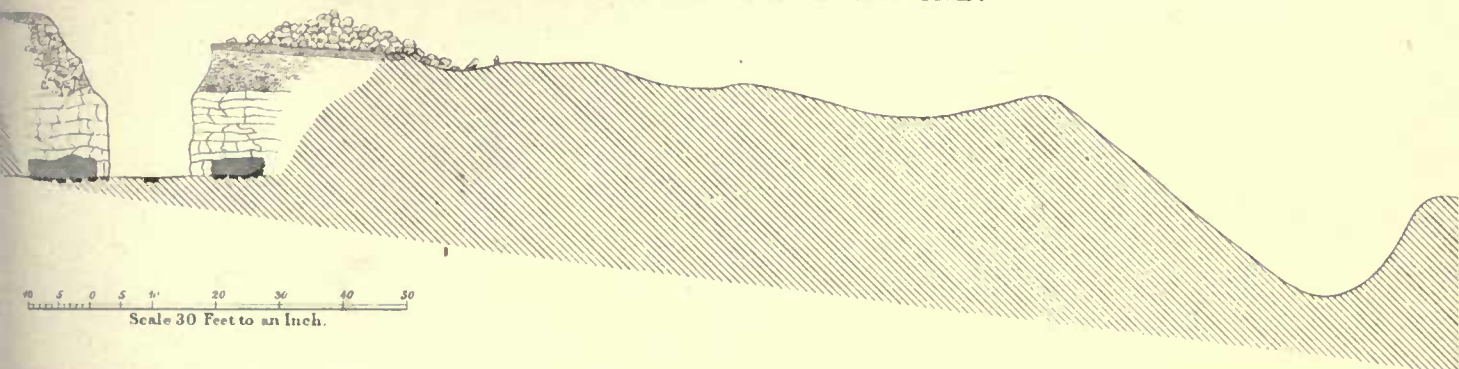
<sup>a</sup> See a memoir "On the opening of Grime's Graves, in Norfolk," by the Rev. William Greenwell, M.A., F.S.A. in the Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, 1870, vol. ii. p. 419.

## I. PLAN OF CAMP.



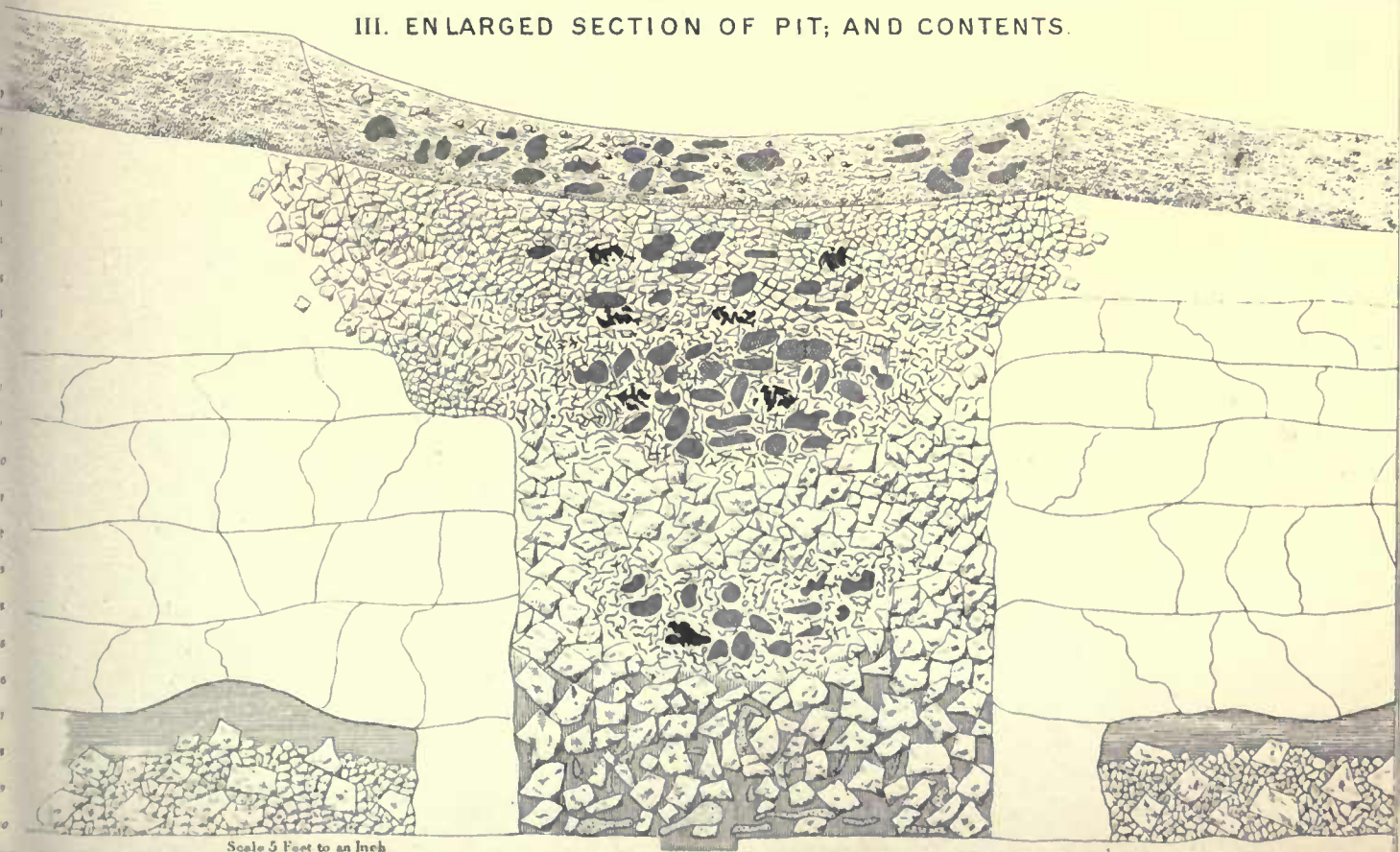
100 200 300 400 500 1000  
Scale 500 Feet to an Inch.

## II. SECTION ON LINE A.B.



10 5 0 5 10 20 30 40 50  
Scale 30 Feet to an Inch.

## III. ENLARGED SECTION OF PIT; AND CONTENTS.



Scale 5 Feet to an Inch





the shaft's mouth in north, south, and westerly directions, and dead land-shells also occurred in this layer, of which by far the greater portion were *Cyclostoma elegans*; but specimens of *Helix nemoralis*, and one of the rare shell *Helix obvoluta* (now very local, and nowhere abundant) were also found. At 5 feet (the depth at which the solid chalk at the edge of the pit commences) the filling-in alters, being now composed of a moist red earth full of flints, worked and unworked, numberless chippings, a fragment or two of stags' horns, and several patches of charcoal.

This ferruginous deposit was much thicker in the middle than at the sides: it seemed trodden and worn, and the implements were mostly huddled together at the centre, but unworked or merely broken flints occurred all through the layer. At ten feet it was replaced by large blocks of pure chalk (in some cases roughly squared) loosely thrown in, the interstices not filled up by smaller material.

No change was observed for about 3 feet, but at that depth, viz. at 13 feet from the surface, came a repetition of the red earth before mentioned, with the same characteristics, but not so thick as the one above, 3 feet being the greatest depth at the centre, and thinning out to 6 inches towards the circumference, and this did not extend to the sides by 18 inches.

The remainder of the *débris* surrounding the last layer, and from 16 feet to the bottom, was pure chalk, but it differed from the layer above in that the blocks, though loosely thrown in, had their interstices filled with small chalk-rubble and loam. Throughout this layer were distributed the bone implements, to be hereafter more fully described, consisting of broken pieces of antlers of the red deer (which show more or less marks of usage and manufacture), four scapulæ of *Bos longifrons*, and one of the common pig, one or two flint implements, and a few broken flints. The thickness of the last deposit makes up a total of 20 feet from the ground (see Plate XXVI. fig. II.), which is tabulated as follows:—

	Feet.		Feet.
Surface soil - -	2	Chalk blocks - -	3
Chalk rubble - -	3	Red earth, &c. - -	3
Red earth, &c. - -	5	Chalk blocks - -	4
			—
		Total - -	20
			—

At a depth of 17 feet from the surface in the north-west corner, we, not altogether unexpectedly, came upon the mouth of a cave. I say "not altogether unexpectedly," because I had previously seen similar caves in the other pit, though on a much smaller scale, and as the workmen proceeded a series of eight



caves were displayed to our view one after the other. These caves, of which a ground plan is exhibited (Plate XXVII. fig. v), run laterally in all directions, and were filled up before our excavation to within from 1 foot to 2 feet from their top with loose blocks of chalk, partly converted into a kind of stalagmite from the percolation of rain-water through the chalk above: it was exceedingly hard, and required a considerable blow to detach the pieces it was necessary to remove.

This hardness was not so observable at the entrances, and a few feet from the mouth inwards was distributed some red earth, containing some pieces of bone and an implement or two.

The galleries are of an irregular height (owing to the roof giving way more in some places than in others), but the variation is from 3 to 5 feet; the width of each is undetermined, as in some instances the separation of one from another is merely effected by a barrier of stalagmite, and, had it been considered safe to remove this, we should probably have found that, with the exception of a block of chalk left here and there for support to the roof, the whole series is in fact very nearly one large cave with several openings. This is not the case in every instance, and, where we were enabled to measure from side to side, the width of the actual chamber was about 4 feet. Cave No. 2 was explored to a length of 19 feet, at which the solid chalk was not reached, for the wall here was still composed of blocks of stalagmite, and, on placing a lighted candle to a chink, the effect of a strong draught was observed.

Now on the surface, at a distance of 20 feet, there is the indication of another shaft, from which I think it may be inferred that the pits communicate one with another.<sup>a</sup> A similar case occurs in cave No. 6, but with this distinction, that in this instance we did clear the chamber to the solid wall, where an aperture of a few inches square was found.

Part of a layer of undisturbed flint, of an exceedingly fine quality, lies at the bottom of the galleries; this, I suppose, did originally extend over the greater portion of the area now occupied by the shaft and chambers, as instances of where flints had been extracted from their matrix were to be noticed.

Another layer of flint, of an inferior quality, is to be seen in the west side of the shaft, at a depth of 10 feet, and two vertical veins strike through the pit, one running north-west and south-east, the other nearly due east and west. The latter dips to the south at an angle of 63 degrees.

At a spot nearly in the centre of the open space forming the bottom of the

<sup>a</sup> The communications between this pit and those around it have since been demonstrated by the subsequent excavations mentioned in the Supplemental Note at the end of this communication.

pit there was a small hole, 1 foot deep and wide and 2 feet long. It was filled with chalk-loam, but did not contain a trace of charcoal or of discoloured chalk, or anything else which might indicate the presence of a fireplace. It is difficult to conjecture its probable use, unless it can have been experimental to see if another layer of flint was to be met with at an easy distance under the first.

Before continuing this description, I ought to add that in January of last year Mr. Plumpton Tindall, F.S.A. (who, I regret to say, is lately dead) opened another pit within a short distance of the one under consideration. Had he lived, I hoped he would have been present to-night to give a personal report of his labours: as it is, I deem it not an unfit opportunity to give a brief account of what he discovered.

I was not present at the opening of the pit, but received an account of it from himself, which, as far as my memory serves me, was as follows. He stated "that until the depth of 15 feet was reached the pit contained hardly anything but chalk rubble, with a few fragments of chipped flints interspersed; but at this distance from the surface he began to find pieces of broken antlers and single tines of red deer. At about 28 feet two remarkably fine and perfect skulls of *Bos urus* occurred, and with them, and in the rubble a few feet beneath, a quantity of bones of this animal, with those of other species, to which reference will presently be made.

"Flint implements occurred all through the deposit below the 15-feet level, and one tool was found made from an antler, and pierced for the insertion of a stone. He also found four large pear-shaped lumps of chalk, pierced at the smaller end, and a broken cup, or lamp, shaped out of a block of chalk." (See woodcut.)

All these things are, I believe, removed to Lord Rosehill's collection, deposited in the Art Museum at Edinburgh.

As the account of the Grime's Graves was not communicated directly to this Society, I now purpose to draw attention to the chief points of resemblance between the flint workings of the two places, and to remark upon the differences that are apparent: the latter, with one exception hereafter mentioned, are unimportant, consisting simply in the minor details that might be expected in similar work carried on by two tribes dwelling in different parts of the country.



CHALK CUP FOUND AT CISSBURY BY  
MR. TINDALL. (Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.)



I cannot think the most scrutinizing critic would allow that these trivial differences militate against the general similarity of design and purpose traceable in both works; and therefore I propose to assume this general similarity as granted.

I have arranged the inquiry under two heads, viz. : 1. The Similarity of Form ; 2. The Similarity of Contents.

Under the first are included the Plans, Elevations, Mineral Characteristics. Under the second— $\alpha$ . General Character;  $\beta$ . Special Character of the Stone Implements, Bone Implements, and Miscellaneous Objects;  $\gamma$ . Animal Remains.

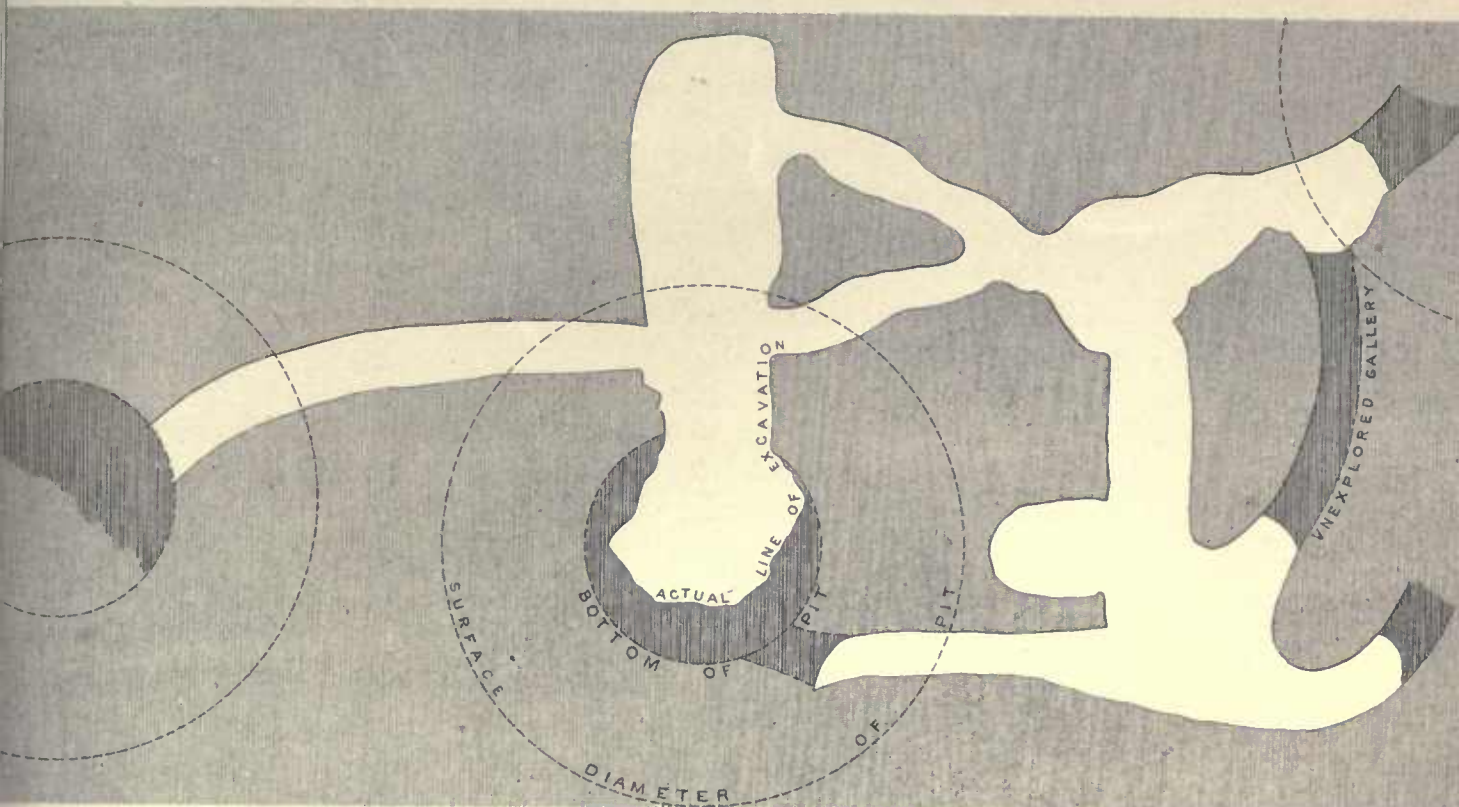
*Plan.*—Plate XXVII. represents the ground-plans of each place drawn to the same scale, and I think there will be few to whom the resemblance is not obvious. They show that the mode of reaching the much-coveted flint was the same, viz. by sinking a series of shafts, and running galleries from them as far as it was convenient to work. The only difference that exists (which is quite unimportant) is, that at Cissbury they seem to have worked in a more compact area, and not in so continued a line as the plan of Grime's Graves shows its workmen to have done. The latter are larger, and extend further underground than any galleries I opened, though, from the apparently insecure state of the chalk, I did not explore four of the largest caves.

*Elevation.*—The elevation is slightly different. At Cissbury the central shaft is nearly perpendicular. At Grime's Graves the pit decreased from a diameter of 28 feet at the surface to one of 12 feet at the base.

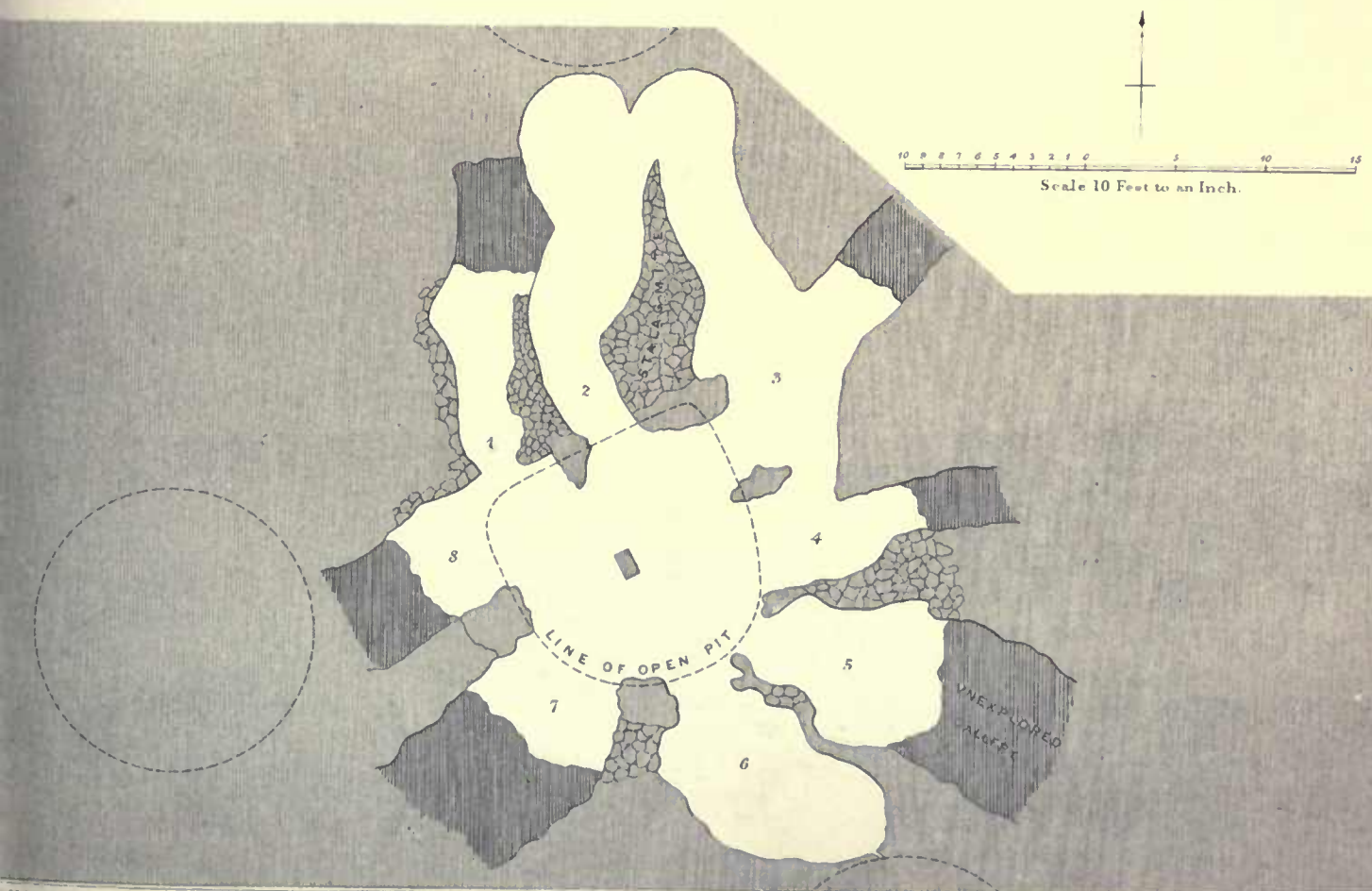
The galleries seem to be about the same height, nominally 3 feet, though in some places, as I have already mentioned at Cissbury, the irregularity with which the chalk roof has given way increases this height to 5 feet. This variation was also observed at Grime's Graves.

*Mineral Characteristics.*—In both cases the layer of flint, which was the object of search, was not the first from the surface. One of an inferior quality—in the Cissbury instance much stained by iron—had been passed through at a considerably less depth. This upper layer is also met with at Brandon, near Grime's Graves, where flint is still quarried for the flint-gun trade; it is there called "wall-flint," as from its unfitness for knapping it is used for building purposes.

## IV. GROVND PLAN, GRIMES GRAVES.



## V. GROVND PLAN, CISSBURY.







*α. GENERAL CHARACTER OF CONTENTS.*

I have already briefly described the general character of the contents of my pit. A short extract read from Mr. Greenwell's paper will show how great a similarity there is between them.

"The filling-in for about 18 feet from the bottom was pure chalk taken from that part which lies between the two beds of flint. Above that was a considerable thickness of sand intermixed with flint nodules and some pieces of chalk, then came a deposit of chalk and flint chippings, in some parts of which the flint chippings very much preponderated; after that was chalk rubble, then sand, at the top chalk rubble again. All these various deposits were so irregular that they could not be measured with any exactness; and in many cases a mass of chalk rubble at the centre did not extend so far as the sides of the pit, whilst in others it only reached from the side to near the middle. The whole appearance favoured the opinion that the pit had been gradually filled in, the operation being a work of considerable time.

*β. Special Character of Stone Implements.*

In all 90 flints more or less perfectly fashioned by man were taken out of the pit at Cissbury, and may be classed as under :

45 rough cores.	5 hammers.
12 hatchets.	12 wedges.
7 scrapers.	12 used flakes.
<hr/>	
Total - -	93
<hr/>	

Though none are new forms, I have adopted this simple classification as more easy for use than if I had included each stone in one or another of the twenty-five types into which Colonel Lane Fox has divided the implements found by him at Cissbury.

I have little fresh information to record about the character of these implements, they have been so ably described before; but I would draw attention to the hammers and wedges, which were found for the most part in close proximity, and which in their correlatively battered ends suggest the use to which they have been applied, and for which, indeed, they seem eminently suited, viz., for breaking down the blocks of chalk.

Whilst at work we incidentally obtained a number of good implements from the surface at various parts of the camp, and among these turned up a hard piece of quartzite, of which one of the sides is ground smooth.



This seems, at least, to suggest that the polishing and grinding, as well as the chipping, were carried on within the confines of the camp, and, scanty though the evidence be, it is just probable that such was the case.

It is also worthy of remark, with reference to the dehydration, oxydation, separation of the silica into two forms, or whatever cause may have operated to produce the alteration of colour in flints exposed on or near the surface of chalk soil, that in the first few feet all were patinated to a depth varying from the thickness of a sheet of paper to an eighth of an inch; and that the lower down the shaft we found them the less they were whitened. For instance, those occurring in the red earth deposit were no more than just discoloured, whilst the few found at eighteen feet and below were nearly as fresh as the day they were fashioned from the natural flint. All the stones, however, in the red earth deposit were covered with a crust of carbonate of lime, which is easily detached by water and scraping.

This alteration in colour seems to take place generally on the side which is exposed uppermost; as, in picking up implements and other stones, I have observed that the lower side invariably exhibits, on fracture, a thinner dehydrated layer than the upper.

I will mention an instance in confirmation of this. I have twice found the two halves of a broken implement lying in conjunction, and in each case one had turned over as it fell, so that the reverse side of this half became patinated. To refit the pieces it was, of course, necessary to turn one half with the surface that had not been exposed uppermost, and the stone then presented a mottley appearance.

#### *Implements of Bone.*

These consist principally of pieces of antlers of the red-deer, variously manipulated. There are, in all, fragments of about ten, more or less, I regret to say, in a poor state of preservation. The largest is the most perfect representative of the tool of which so many were found at Grime's Graves, and this from its appearance seems to have been but little used; it is the deer's horn stripped of all its tines except the brow tine, which is generally much worn; thus fashioned, it must have been a powerful weapon for extracting the flint from its bed. Grime's Graves was very rich in this shaped tool, Canon Greenwell obtaining no less than seventy, some in a splendid state of preservation, and many showing the prints of the workmen's fingers encrusted on by chalk.

The other form of pick, viz. the antler entirely stripped and drilled for the insertion of a thinly-fashioned celt, was not found, though at 15 feet I picked up

a celt which would be admirably adapted for fitting in such a handle, and Mr. Tindall in his pit found a good antler so stripped and pierced; showing that this form of tool was in use at Cissbury.\*

There is also a tool manufactured from the top end of the antler, and which exhibits marks of an attempt to cut it through; whether this was intended for a pick or a drill is conjectural: the handle is much worn at the cup end.

After this we must notice the tines, which, broken off, as they were, to enable the workmen to use the pick more comfortably, became in themselves convenient implements. An example of their use occurred in Cave 6, where, at the entrance, was a block of chalk partly detached, and the hole bored, evidently by a tine, to prize the block down, is still visible.

Associated with these are the remains of five scapulæ, which Professor Flower has kindly identified as *Bos longifrons* and pig. In three cases the large anterior spine has been cut away, and this fact, together with the scratchings on them, and the absence of any other bones or animal remains has led to the idea that they may possibly have been used as shovels. One of them is represented in the accompanying woodcut.

#### *Miscellaneous Objects.*

Several small objects turned up at the Norfolk workings, most notably fragments of what may have been a human figure carved in chalk, which degree of art culture our Cissbury inhabitants do not seem to have attained; also, one or two small lamps cut out of blocks of chalk; these when filled with fat or oil, and supplied with a floating wick, would serve to illumine the galleries for the workmen, some such contrivance being most certainly necessary, as daylight does not penetrate sufficiently to give light at the extremities. Canon Greenwell found, I think, four in all; I found none, though a broken one occurred in Mr. Tindall's



BLADE-BONE USED AS A SHOVEL.  
Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.

\* It will be remembered by those who heard Canon Greenwell describe his labours at Grime's Graves, or who have since read that description in the Journal of the Ethnological Society, that he therein states that "the workmen at Brandon engaged in extracting the flint use the same form of tool in wood and iron at the present day."



pit at a considerable depth (see engraving in page 341); the edges are somewhat blackened. That gentleman also found the four curious pear-shaped blocks to which I have alluded; they weigh about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. each, and are drilled at the smaller end, and about this hole are signs of thongs or strings having cut into the soft chalk by fraying.

#### γ. *Animal Remains.*

It is remarkable that in the shaft and galleries which I have been describing no other animal remains were found but those already noticed, which were worked into tools. But, fortunately, evidence is not wanting as to the character of the animals which served as food to the Celtic race of this district, for Mr. Tindall discovered a quantity of bones belonging to *Bos primigenius*, stag, otter, wild boar, and roe deer. The heads of *urus* are unusually fine and perfect, the horn-cores being almost intact. The skull of a wild boar too had its tusks in a very good state of preservation, the enamel on them being almost as hard as on the day the animal was killed.

These remains are nearly all those of feral animals; and when this is taken into consideration, with the facts that the deer-horns are mostly not shed, but from slain animals, that there are no signs of pottery (except from the surface layer) or any other of the earlier traces even of approaching civilization, and that some of the flint implements are similar to certain forms found in the drift,—it suggests, I think, that the period of the working of these quarries at Cissbury was earlier in the Neolithic age than that of the Grime's Graves, at which latter place the animal remains were principally domesticated, such as *Bos longifrons*, sheep, pig, goat, dog, and the horns of the red deer for the most part shed. From these two latter facts Canon Greenwell argues that the occupants of Grime's Graves had passed beyond the hunting stage, and were probably not unfamiliar with herds and flocks.

I have now briefly dwelt upon the main points of interest that have come under my notice relative to ancient Flint Workings in Sussex, and have alluded to their connection with those in another great chalk-bearing county.

But I ought to mention, in corroboration of my having come to this conclusion concerning the Cissbury pits, that I have not ignored the possibility of another explanation, viz. that of their having been places of habitation or of refuge; but

I think that the absence in them of all traces of prolonged residence negatives this as the primary purpose for which they were constructed. It does, however, seem to me probable that when the pit had been discontinued in use as a quarry, and the refilling from a neighbouring shaft had partly taken place, advantage of it was taken as a place of shelter where workmen might shape their tools.

The occurrence of the greater portion of the flint, both worked and unworked, with numberless chippings, and also of patches of charcoal in connection with the red-earth layers, are the facts on which I base my opinion; and, further, the sides of the shaft, on a level with the lower of the two layers, show signs of abrasion and wear not noticed above or below this depth from the surface.

I am in hopes of some day seeing one or more of the depressions outside the camp opened, as perhaps this may throw some light upon the yet obscure question as to the relative ages of the pits and the vallum. I know that Colonel Lane Fox considers that the pits are subsequent, but I believe he grounds his argument on the finding of a few flint implements at the bottom of the trench, a circumstance which I cannot bring myself to think conclusive evidence, and in the presence of an opposite opinion suggested by the continuity of the series being abruptly severed by the fosse.

I have now but to add that my own thanks, and I think I may say those of all interested in the subject, are due to the owner of Cissbury, Major Wisden, who so courteously afforded every facility in his power for the prosecution of the work, and who has kindly consented to the deposit in our local museum of the objects discovered.

I must also express my personal obligations to Canon Greenwell for having in the first place prompted me to undertake the excavation, and for the assistance I have derived by the free reference at all times to his valuable experience during the preparation of this paper.

NOTE.—Partly in consequence of the discussion that arose when this communication was read to the Society, further excavations were undertaken by Colonel (now General) Lane Fox and Mr. Park Harrison, acting on behalf of a committee of the Anthropological Institute, which have demonstrated the greater antiquity of the series of pits for flint-working to the camp-ditch and wall. Two skeletons with dolico-cephalic skulls were discovered in the shafts, proving that the pits were at one time worked by these long-headed people, a race that had certainly been displaced in the district at the time of the Roman invasion by round-headed inhabitants. Both these circumstances support the theory of the



comparatively great antiquity of the Cissbury flint-workings, at first suggested by the resemblance of the forms to some of the drift types, and by the absence (as already stated above) of all remains of domestic animals in the refuse heaps.

For details of the results of these later excavations the reader is referred to the articles by Colonel A. Lane Fox, F.R.S. F.S.A. Professor Rolleston, F.R.S. F.S.A. and Mr. Park Harrison, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.<sup>a</sup> In vol. vii. of that *Journal*, plate x. is a plan of the excavations made in 1876 and 1877, which gives their position and connection with those that form the subject of my communication.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. v. p. 357; vi. p. 263, 430; vii. p. 413.

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XV.—*Note on the Milites Stationarii of the Romans.* By HENRY SALUSBURY  
MILMAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

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Read March 18, 1876.

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THE Home Office of Imperial Rome, as working through the *milites stationarii* and leaving their indelible mark on our country, was exhibited by Mr. H. C. Coote, in a paper read before us on December 5th, 1872. The novelty of the subject, whilst adding to its interest, rendered it difficult of worthy discussion at the hearing. I have now the permission—nay, the encouragement—of the author to offer some further illustrations of it.

According to this paper, the *stationarii*, like all other *milites*, were organized in *centuriæ* and *decuriæ*. They were the local constabulary, and, by their officers, the criminal magistracy of first instance. They were invented by Augustus, improved by Tiberius, for Italy, and thence extended throughout the Empire. Every *centuria*, every *decuria* of them, had its *statio* and district, to which it gave title. Their duties were to put in operation the criminal law. A private *stationarius*, or several under their *decurio*, arrested the suspected. Their *centurio*, if a case were made out, caused a *notoria* (indictment) to be drawn, and committed him for trial by the *præses* (circuit-judge). Such was the institution. As the Empire declined in power and contracted in extent, it drew in the soldiers of every kind from the provinces. The provincials, recognising the value of the institution described, retained the districts with their titles, replaced the uniform paid soldiery by multiform unpaid bodies of men, every nation in accordance with its own customs and legal ideas. In our country the district-titles were translated into hundred and tything. After a few generations the origin of these titles was utterly forgotten. A pre-Conquest attempt to account for them, which has been handed down to us, was as complete a failure as are the attempts made in our current legal histories.



Three points, by way of further illustration, have occurred to me. First, that the application of the words *centuria* and *decuria* as district titles was in conformity with old Roman precedent; secondly, that certain soldiers mentioned in the Gospels were clearly *stationarii*; thirdly, that, in later times and throughout Europe, the entitling of districts from personal offices has been the rule rather than the exception.

1. The word *tribus* was derived from numbers, but very early lost sight of them, and ceased, in the mind of a Roman, to involve a numerical idea. It also very early ceased to involve even a personal idea, for it was applied by Servius Tullius to his divisions of the Roman soil; so *centuria* and *decuria* seem, apart from numerical and personal ideas, to have been applied by Augustus and Tiberius to constabulary districts.

2. In the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel is recorded the ministry of John the Baptist in the desert of Jordan in the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius. Three classes of persons—the people, publicans, and soldiers—asked of him rules of conduct. The people were the Jews of every grade; to them was given universally applicable advice. The publicans were officers of the Roman Government, authorised to collect the taxes, which they farmed; to them was given advice specially applicable to their besetting temptation. But who were the soldiers?

Let us learn this from the advice given to them, which was:

In the Greek original:—Μηδένα διασεΐσητε μηδὲ συκοφαντήσητε· καὶ ἀρκείσθε τοῖς ὀψωνίοις ὑμῶν.

In the Latin Vulgate version:—"Neminem concutiatis, neque calumniam faciatis; et contenti estote stipendiis vestris."

In the English authorised version:—"Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages."

Two words, διασεΐσητε and συκοφαντήσητε, demand notice.

Σείειν and its intensitive διασεΐειν had, as equivalents in Latin, "quaterere, concutere;" in English, "to shake, to shake thoroughly." They often bore a metaphorical sense, to stir, to harass the mind, and especially by legal process. The Basilica have a chapter, "περὶ διασεΐσεως," representing a chapter of the Digesta, "De Concussione."<sup>a</sup>

Συκοφαντεῖν had, as equivalent in Latin, "calumniari, calumniam facere;" in English, "to accuse basely, to act as a base informer." It implied baseness in the agent, and the base often use falsehood.

<sup>a</sup> B. lib. lx. tit. 24. D. lib. xlvii. tit. 13.







Διασείσις and συκοφαντία alone were but moral crimes. It was only after extortion by their means that they came within the grasp of law, often of the Lex Cornelia De Falsis.

That διασείειν bore here its metaphorical and special sense is clear from its being coupled with συκοφαντῆιν. So, in an oration of Antiphon, “ἐτέρους τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἔσειε καὶ ἐσυκοφάντει,” “he was harassing at law and basely accusing others of the accounters,” i.e., the men who were under account for administration of office. The two verbs appear to form one phrase.

The Vulgate version of the Baptist's advice is perfect, and not only confirms the universal testimony borne by antiquity to the great linguistic learning of St. Jerome, but also shows that he was acquainted with the legal literature of his day.

The English version misses the metaphorical and special sense of the first verb, and somewhat narrows the sense of the second. I would suggest as more accurate, “Harass no man at law, neither accuse any basely; and be content with your wages.”

Now, publicans were of course to be found in every part of a Roman province; but how came there to be soldiers actually serving (στρατενόμενοι) in the desert of Jordan during time of peace? History being silent, we may not invent a camp in the neighbourhood, a garrison in Bethabara, or Ænon, or Salim. Scarcely would discipline have permitted or curiosity have induced soldiers of any Roman camp or garrison to stray far after a Jewish preacher. That these soldiers were of an army of Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch of Galilee, halting on march against Aretas, King of Arabia, is a very ingenious conjecture of the commentator Michaelis, but nothing more.

Besides, what had soldiers of a camp or garrison to do with harassing at law or with basely accusing? Why should they be urged to be content with their regular pay?

The answers supplied by Mr. Coote's paper are clear and forcible. These soldiers were *stationarii*, local constables of the district where the Baptist was preaching. They, like the publicans of the same district, were led by leisure and curiosity to mingle with the Jewish crowds, understood the local language (for such must have been that used by the preacher), were conscience-stricken with his earnestness, and asked his advice.

As in the cases of the people and the publicans, the Baptist passed by legal duties, for his mission was not political, and touched moral duties only. He knew



the besetting temptations of *stationarii*, the same temptations which assail local constables of all ages and countries, and which are chiefly three, namely, to domineer over those under them, to court favour of those over them, to covet irregular gain. To domineer over the subject people was wrong, so far as it consisted in harassing by legal process; to court favour of the government was wrong, so far as it consisted in making, for show of zeal, charges which without breach of duty might be omitted; to covet irregular gain was wholly wrong. This third temptation lay at the root of the two first.

Bribery appears to have been so frequent at this period, as between the Jews and their masters of every grade, that if not offered by the former it was expected by the latter. The chief priests "gave large money unto the soldiers, saying 'Say ye, His disciples came by night and stole him away while we slept. And if this come to the governor's ears we will persuade him and secure you.' So they took the money and did as they were taught." Here is shadowed forth a plan of bribing the Roman constabulary or garrison of Jerusalem upwards from private to commandant, so well established that the lower ranks, in faith of its success, readily ran the peril of military capital punishment. The same vice was found in a higher place, affecting a higher person—the place Cæsarea, the Roman seat of government; the person, the supreme Roman officer of the province. Felix "hoped that money should have been given him of Paul that he might loose him: wherefore he sent for him the oftener and communed with him."

The three moral precepts corresponding to the three temptations were:—Harass no one at law. Act not as base informers. Be content with regular pay. The whole duty of man as a local constable could scarcely have been better summed up.

This event took place in the Roman province of Judæa; but we can refer the institution of *stationarii* in the same and neighbouring regions to a period many years before Judæa became a Roman province, when the Emperor Augustus was administering the yet undivided kingdom of Herod the Great; and we can assert its continuance in the four governments into which that kingdom was parted; for we find *stationarii* in Galilee while yet a tetrarchy.

In the eighth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and in the seventh chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, is recorded the miraculous cure of a centurion's servant at Capernaum. This centurion, who had dwelt with his family in the town long enough to be known for his kindness to the Jewish inhabitants, to have built them a synagogue, and to have formed intimate friendships with the chief of them, and who had, also, a definite status in a legion, a commander over him and



I



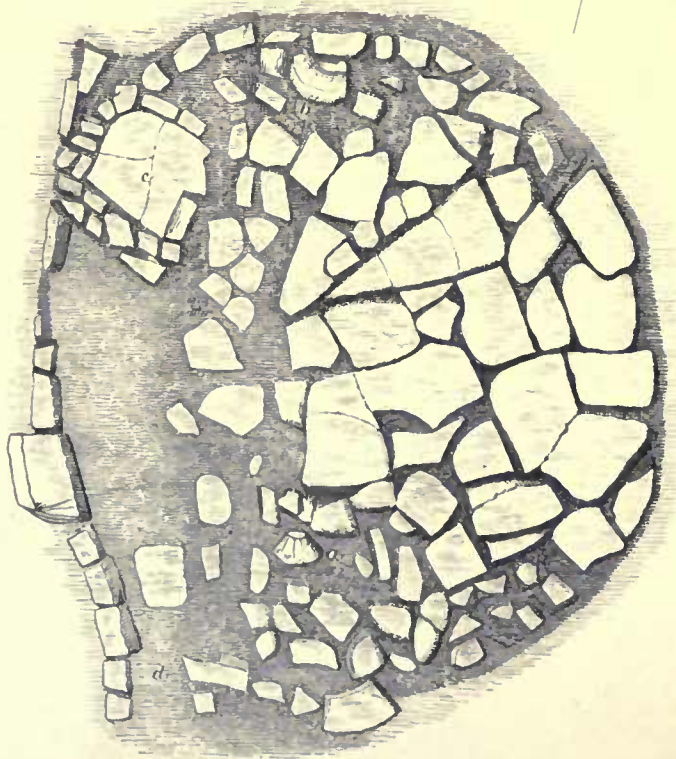
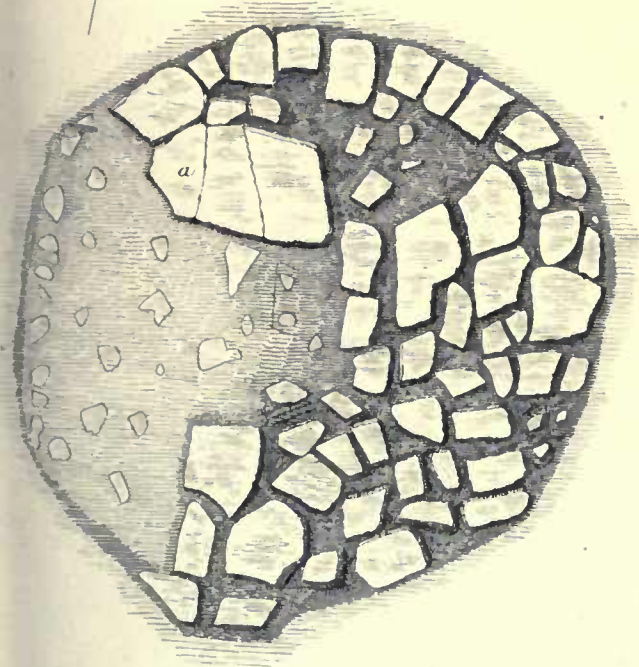
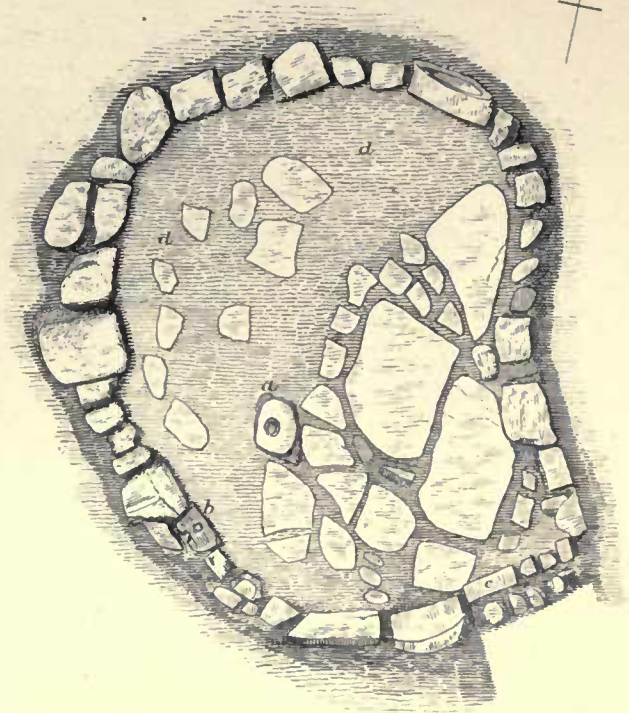
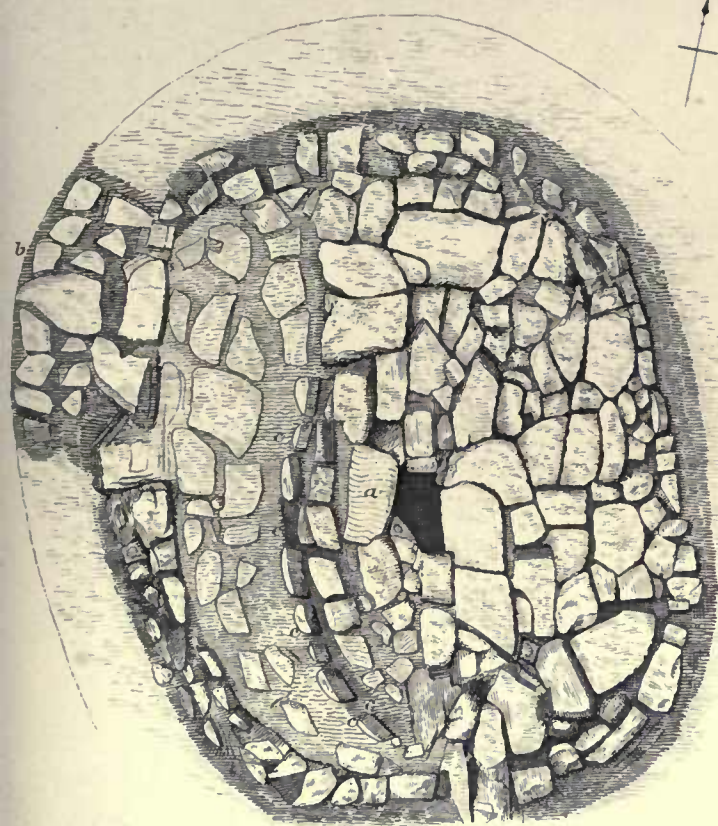
II



III



IV







soldiers under him, he and those soldiers must have been the *stationarii* of the constabulary district or hundred of Capernaum. Otherwise we must conjecture that the cautious Augustus, or the suspicious Tiberius, had entrusted an unreliable Jewish tetrarch with a most dangerous instrument, a moveable Roman legion.

We may fairly conclude that the Roman emperors, from Augustus downwards, organised *stationarii* in every territory falling under their control, and, consequently, in Gaul and Britain simultaneously with the Roman occupation of each.

3. Titles of districts derived from those of personal offices, surviving even the memory of their derivation, and then applied to new districts of the same class as the old, are widely prevalent.

Let us take two instances, *parochia* and *comitatus*.

Early in the Christian era the originally Greek but adopted Latin word *parochus* acquired an ecclesiastical sense, as signifying a provider of things spiritual, a Christian minister. As Christianity became locally settled, a ministerial district was assigned to a *parochus*, and called *parochia*. The primary Christian *parochus* and *parochia* were a bishop and his diocese. *Parochia* in this sense was used by St. Jerome, writing in the fourth century. At first the bishop and his clergy dwelt together about the church of the *parochia* or diocese, the latter ministering as visitors to distant congregations. Next subordinate churches came to be built, the ministers visitant became resident near them, and subordinate *parochiæ* were constituted, which in process of time exclusively appropriated the title. Both *parochus* and *parochia* entered the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, as *paroco* or *parroco*, and *parochia*, *parrocchia*, or *parroquia*, in the limited senses of a curate and his cure. *Parochus* scarcely retained its place in official or legal Latin, but *parochia* appears in documents of several ages and countries.

The *comes* or count of an English or Norman king was originally called by his Christian name only, as Comes Haroldus, Comes Ricardus. When he received a district to hold and govern under his superior, such district was called his *comitatus* or county, and its proper name sometimes became part of his ordinary description. The Norman kings of England, warned by continental examples, checked the overgrowing power of their counts by reducing the connection of count with county as such to a mere receipt by him of a portion, the third penny, of its revenue, and placing every county under a vice-comes or sheriff, an annual officer immediately accounting to the Crown. Yet they not only retained the convenient title of county for these districts which had actually been ruled by



counts, but also gave the same title to new districts of the same class which had never been so ruled.

Thus in *parochia* and *comitatus* we have two classes of English districts, one ecclesiastical the other civil, bearing titles derived from titles of office, which are in that connection long obsolete. Both words have so long flourished apart from their roots, that those roots and the modes of growth therefrom have been utterly forgotten. Of this kind is, doubtless, the relation of hundred and tything to *centuria* and *decuria stationariorum*.

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XVI.—*An Account of Researches in Ancient Circular Dwellings near Birtley, Northumberland.* By the Rev. G. ROME HALL, F.S.A., Vicar of Birtley.

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Read March 11, 1875.

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THE district with which these researches are connected lies in North Tynedale, in Western Northumberland. Until recently, when the North British Railway opened the Waverley route into Scotland, it formed an isolated portion of a remote valley, being shut in by the rivers North Tyne and Rede. Situated a few miles to the north of that remarkable monument of the Roman power, the Barrier Wall of Hadrian, and directly connected with it by the old Roman road, the Watling Street, on its eastern side, the district around the ancient village of Birtley, formerly *Birkley*, was still more secluded by the rivers bounding it on the north and west sides. This isolation, however, together with the fact that these wind-swept uplands, rising in places to about 1,000 feet above the sea, have never been under the plough, except for a short time in the beginning of the present century, has tended to preserve many vestiges of very ancient occupation. Primitive entrenchments or camps abound wherever such simple castrametation was possible, thrown up on the summit of the rounded hills, on the bare escarpments, or on the level plateaux beneath these higher positions, that characterise the lower series of the carboniferous formation. Even the great "crags," the occasional protruded faults of columnar basalt, were made available as "coigns of vantage" by the early inhabitants. Associated with these ancient towns are many remarkable examples of terraced slopes, found chiefly on this eastern or sunny side of the valley, which were probably used for the cultivation of corn or other cereals in suitable clearings made in the primeval forests. Numerous single and family barrows, tumuli of earth or "cairns" of stones, also exist; and much information respecting the early vale-dwellers has been gleaned from the stone-lined chambers or "cistvaens" and their contents, which these burial mounds have yielded up to modern research.



Detailed descriptions by the writer of a portion of these various relics of antiquity, and of the remarkable heaps of scoræ of iron of ancient but uncertain date scattered throughout the district, have been read at different times before the British Association (1863) and the Ethnological Society of London (1863-4), and published with illustrative plans and engravings of objects discovered in the *Archæologia Æliana* <sup>a</sup> and the *Natural History Transactions of Northumberland and Durham*.<sup>b</sup>

But hitherto nothing had been effected in the way of an exploration of the circular dwellings, the foundations of which can still be traced within the numerous early fortified towns or ancient entrenched camps, nor in the few isolated or clustered hut-circles that exist near Birtley or elsewhere in North Tynedale, especially in the Keilder district, and which are not defended by an external ditch and ramparts. Among the Cheviot Hills, to the north of the county of Northumberland, the late Duke Algernon had earned the thanks of archæologists by causing the extensive British towns of Greaves Ash and Yevering Bell to be carefully examined, and the results to be recorded by the late Mr. George Tate, F.G.S. for the Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club.<sup>c</sup>

The late Mr. Albert Way, F.S.A. in one of his communications to me, expressed his belief that in North Tynedale, as in other districts, there are various types of the hill-fortress, which might perhaps be reduced to chronological series by the efforts and friendly combination of different careful observers. He did not so much refer to their form, which he imagined to have been purely conditional as regards the exigencies of site, &c. as to their general strategic character. It was Mr. Way's impression also that many of these early camps or hill-forts may have been occupied, especially the "camps" close to the Anglo-Scottish border, as these are, down to a very late period; that the Celtic site may have been a town not only in Saxou but in earlier and later medieval times. For the hut-circle, he thought, was not distinctive of a period, and he considered that "bee-hive" dwellings were commonly used even so late as the days of Queen Elizabeth, the old Celtic type lingering long under the same local necessities or constructive convenience.

It was partly in order to test the interesting conclusions of so competent an authority that I began some time since, with the permission and sanction of the noble proprietor, the Duke of Northumberland, to make explorations within the

<sup>a</sup> New Series, part 21, 1866, pp. 3-17.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. i. part ii. pp. 151-167, and vol. iii. part i. pp. 32-53.

<sup>c</sup> "Transactions" for 1861 and 1862.

circular dwellings, whose foundation walls are still existing, in one of the smaller British towns near Birtley. In prosecuting these researches I have had the great advantage of the aid and co-operation of the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A. of Durham, who has sometimes been engaged with myself in the excavations; and my thanks are also due to Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A. for valuable help which he has recently afforded me.

I regret that both from the lack of time and means to carry on the work properly the explorations have been intermitted of late. Instead of being engaged with ancient buildings, however interesting, my time has been fully occupied with the more pressing necessity of attending to modern buildings, in providing a new parsonage and school for the parish of Birtley, which once formed part of Chollerton parish, from which it was separated in 1865. This has now been happily accomplished, so that I hope in future to prosecute these researches with fewer hindrances.

#### CARRY HOUSE CAMP. (Plate XXVIII.)

This ancient entrenched town or camp, which appeared to me the most promising and was also easy of access, about one mile north-west from Birtley Village, lies, like some others in this district, on a level plateau of the freestone, sheltered on the east by a cliff which rises within a bowshot from its vallum and ditch.<sup>a</sup> The western rampart has no fosse, but is defended by the ground sloping rapidly towards the river North Tyne. It is near an old farm-house, one of our smaller but still massive border *peles*<sup>b</sup> or “bastell-houses,” the name of which, *Carry House*, is not improbably of Celtic origin, referring to the *Caerau* or adjacent British towns. It may be here observed, as is more fully referred to hereafter, that both the earlier and later migrations of the Celtæ seem to have left their traces in the local names. This Carry House camp, though not so large as some in the neighbourhood, is remarkable for several peculiarities; for the number of

<sup>a</sup> A copious supply of water would be obtained from a well at the base of the cliff, now obliterated by recent draining.

<sup>b</sup> The larger *peles* or peel-towers, fortified baronial residences, are chiefly found in Tynedale, the earliest and most imposing being Chipchase Castle, near Birtley, the seat of Hugh Taylor, Esq. for a memoir on which see Nat. Hist. Trans. of Northumberland and Durham, New Series, vol. v. p. 295, *et seq.* by the writer; *Sax. pil. moles*, low Latin *pela*, *pelum*, a pile, fortress, originally applied to defences of earth mixed with timber, strengthened with *piles* or *palisades*, like the fortresses of the Britons, described by Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. v. 21.



hut-circles existing in the limited area which it incloses of about an acre, and which are chiefly grouped against the circumference of the fort westward, like those of a camp on Croydon Hill; also for the discovery, in draining the site a few years since, of a small cist, under a large tumulus within the town itself, which contained a cinerary urn; and further, for a fence-wall, nearly bisecting the whole inclosed space, which separates between two ancient farm-holdings, a proof that this camp has been a well known "march" or boundary—a landmark for many generations. Its form is nearly circular, and the rampart is about three yards in average width, formed of the rude and massive masonry of unhewn stones, placed in position without mortar, and sometimes called Cyclopean or Pelasgic, having large boulder-stones outside and set on edge inside for a foundation, smaller stones being placed above them in tiers, and the wall still remaining three or four feet high in portions of the circumference.

CIRCULAR DWELLING, No. I. (Plate XXIX. fig. 1.)

We began an examination in a well-defined hut circle at the south-west of the camp. When the first spadeful of soil came to the surface, nearly at the centre, traces of oxydised bronze and iron mingled with the earth appeared to encourage the diggers. Carefully removing the sward and soil to the depth of about a foot, we came to the floor of the ancient dwelling, which had been laid down carefully with freestone slabs; being, in fact, in better condition than the floors of many of the old thatched cottages of the neighbouring village, as I remember them many years since, before they were entirely rebuilt by the late and present Dukes of Northumberland, on whose estate almost all these numerous remains of ancient occupation are situated.

Lying along a crevice between flagstones, close to a large centre slab (*a*) of ripple-marked sandstone (very similar to one which I have lately observed resting under the picturesque Countess Park "clints," or cliffs by the river side, from which it had fallen), was an ancient weapon, a long sword of early Saxon type, which had furnished us with the previous indications of the two oxides. Unfortunately it was not only much corroded by time and damp, but, from whatever cause (and many probable causes might be suggested, such as some sudden attack upon the town and dwelling, although no human bones were found near it to show that the former owner had come to a violent and untimely end), it was lying in broken fragments in a straight line. In its position, *in situ*, where it had fallen it was easy to give an approximate idea of its original length, which

was about two feet nine or ten inches. Having dropped or been thrown down still sheathed in its scabbard of wood, tipped at the rounded point or chape with a bronze or copper plate for greater strength, there it had lain for centuries until it had almost entirely decayed away; and, except at the hilt and point, was greatly pressed out of shape, the wood and iron, and perhaps some extraneous substances, as it were, roughly amalgamating together. The sword-point yet remaining in its sheath, though in a sadly precarious condition, is worthy of notice. Its rusted hilt of iron, small and narrow in shape, no doubt had at first a perishable handle of ivory, horn, or wood, which has now quite disappeared.

The ordinary length of the early Saxon sword is stated to have been about three feet, and having been used only by cavalry, not being "the weapon of any one under the rank of a king's thane," it is no wonder that they are of rare occurrence, comparatively, in Anglo-Saxon interments. The Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A. found, with other Anglian relics, in a barrow in Kirby Underdale, Yorkshire, a similar but larger double-edged sword, with a longer and broader blade, being three feet long by two and a half inches wide. In the British Museum there is also a similar sword, but also a little larger, engraved in Kemble's *Horæ Ferales*,<sup>a</sup> which probably gives a close approximate representation of the original

<sup>a</sup> *Horæ Ferales*, or Studies in the Archaeology of the Northern Nations, edited by Dr. Latham and A. W. Franks, 1863, plate xxvi. fig. 1. See also plate xxvii. and p. 202, *et seq.* where the Teutonic iron swords are well described. Here it is said that "Anglo-Saxon swords were of two kinds; one, the sword proper, was about three feet long, with a rounded point and perfectly flat; it had but little guard, and the handle was formed of ivory, horn, or some other perishable material; the other, the *seax* or *scramasaxus*, had a solid one-edged blade and a sharp point. The latter variety is rarely found in England, but frequently on the Continent." . . . "I assert that the sword was not the weapon of any man under the rank of a king's thane; that the spear was, as the representative of the spear—the bayonet—is to this day, the weapon of the common soldier; and that the swords found in the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and German graves, with skeletons, were broad swords, which could only be wielded by a horseman." He shows this by a reference also to the Anglo-Saxon law of *heriots*, especially in its revision under Cnut. Henry of Huntingdon, iv. A.D. 752, speaks of the *virī electi* of an army, or chosen troop only, having swords: "Recentes quippe qui supervenerant, et viri electi erant, securibus et gladiis horribiliter corpora Brittonum findebant." Elsewhere he refers to the *proceres et fortissimi* as using both the sword and the double-edged battle-axe.

In the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* of the Rev. Bryan Faussett, edited by Mr. C. Roach Smith, 1856, plate xiv. fig. 6, is given one of the very few Anglo-Saxon swords found in Kent which has a pommel of globular form, similar in appearance to this Birtley example, but very small. At p. xxxv. *Introduction*, Mr. Smith says, "There is an extremely interesting representation upon a sepulchral monument at Mayence of one of the Roman auxiliary horsemen, armed with a sword, the very counterpart of the Anglo-Saxon weapon. It hangs by the side of the rider (fastened high upon the breast), who is spearing a prostrate foe; and behind the horse stands a foot-soldier with a couple of long spears like that used by the horseman," who belonged to an *ala* of the Norici, in the third century. Compare Tacitus, Agric. c. 36.



appearance of this North Tynedale sword of the same period. It was found in a Saxon grave at Battle-Edge, near Burford, Oxfordshire; is  $36\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, with flat blade and broad tang, and retains several inches still in good preservation of the scabbard with the upper band of copper gilt and the metal edging of the chape.<sup>a</sup>

In a hollow below the end of the centre slab and the adjoining flag-stone, as if secreted there, was found soon afterwards a bundle of short weapons of iron, also much oxydised, and adhering together, although the thong which bound them had perished. They consisted apparently of large and small spear-heads, as some had sockets for the ashen staves to be fixed in, besides two or three knives or daggers. Two of these iron weapons are in better condition than the others, although similarly corroded and broken. One spear-head is seven inches long, including the socketed part. If not also Saxon, and it is difficult to discriminate in such instances, they may probably be assigned to the late Celtic or Romano-British period, and are of the same kind as the spear-heads found in the Thames at Mortlake.

About four feet eastward from this hiding-place a small bronze ornament was discovered lying by itself on the surface of a flag-stone. It certainly had not the character of a fibula, and it was at first thought to have been attached to the scabbard or tang of the Saxon sword already described, or that it was perhaps a transverse projection from the iron strig for securing the wood or other perishable material which completed the handle or sword-hilt; or again, we supposed it might have been attached to the belt supporting the sword itself on the person of the Saxon thane or chief who once wielded it.

I am indebted to our Director, Mr. Franks, for pointing out to me the singular interest connected with the discovery of this antique relic. It seems undoubtedly to have been a portion of a British horse-buckle used for chariot trappings, the ring part being broken off or decayed away; and it is ornamented with projections that are of late Celtic, not purely Roman type. It is exactly like one of those buckles which are represented in the *Archæologia*,<sup>b</sup> found in ploughing a

<sup>a</sup> The swords found by Mr. Faussett in Saxon cemeteries of Kent, 1757-1773, *Invent. Sepulc.* Introd. p. xxxiv. are generally about 2 feet 7 inches in length, width near the handle  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and slightly tapering towards the point. The British glaive, still larger than the Roman *spatha*, is represented between three and four feet long. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (*Gladius*).

<sup>b</sup> Vol. xiv. p. 90. In the Appendix to the *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. plate xxxvii. fig. 5, there is a similar buckle. Figs. 6 and 7 are also "rings probably for straps," and the various objects represented, found near Abergele, North Wales, formed, Mr. Franks thinks, p. 557, "part of the trappings of a horse." An ornamented ring of bronze and iron of similar "Late Keltic" type has been noticed recently by the Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A. as found with chariot-wheels, &c. near Arras, in Yorkshire. See "British Barrows," p. 455-6.

field at Polden Hill, near Bridgewater, Somersetshire. They are described by Mr. C. J. Harford, F.S.A. and, if the ring portion had been preserved, fig. 5, plate xxi. would be almost a fac-simile. There the find included many buckles or perhaps bridle-bits, with the same characteristic projecting ornaments, and it was suggested that they belonged to some British chief in the Roman service. We may therefore permit ourselves to picture the use of this Northumbrian buckle, thus recently brought to light. If not afterwards used in securing the rude personal attire of some later occupant of the hut-circle, seeing that it was found alone, yet certainly it was first employed in securing the harness and horse-trappings of one of the earlier or later Romano-British war-chariots, which may often have passed for purposes of peace or war on its rapid course along the rough Celtic trackways or the neighbouring Roman roads of the Watling Street and the Wall of Hadrian, and of that supposed Roman cross-road which led from and through Birtley to Habitaneum (Risingham) and Procolitia (Carrawburgh), which I have traced in local tradition and by portions of its pavement which still remain *in situ*.<sup>a</sup>

The remaining objects which we found in this first circular dwelling were not of so much interest and value, although useful as indications of primitive occupation; one or two fragments of Roman pottery, the bottoms of vessels, the first being of a flattened form and of leaden-gray colour, produced by the "smother-kiln." This is of the same kind of ware which Mr. John Evans, F.S.A. has described in his "Account of Excavations in two Roman Villas at Box Moor, Hertfordshire;"<sup>b</sup> and it is of frequent occurrence in the various stations on the Roman Wall in Northumberland and Cumberland. The bottom of the small vessel of light stone-coloured pottery resembles one or two examples in the British Museum which were discovered in the Roman kilns in the New Forest. It is no doubt part of a Roman cup, the ware of a rather less gritty or stony character than those New Forest specimens which are represented in the *Archæologia*.<sup>c</sup> From a coin of Victorinus, who reigned in Gaul and probably in Britain,<sup>d</sup> A.D. 265 to 267, having been discovered amongst them, they may be considered examples of later Roman

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia Æliana*, part xxi. 1866, New Series, vol. vii. pp. 19-21. Cæsar's description of the war-chariot, *De Bello Gall.* iv. 33, is well known. The Rev. William Barnes, B.D. in his "Notes on Ancient Britain and the Britons," pp. 62-67, compares the British *rhodawg* with the iron-chariots of the East.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 65. See Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," 3rd edit., p. 436.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91, plate iii. figs. 11 and 12.

<sup>d</sup> Coins of Victorinus are very numerous in the remarkable and recently discovered Roman treasure-well of Coventina at Carrawburgh, the property of Mr. John Clayton, F.S.A.



fictile work. In the recently-discovered "Forum" of the Roman town of Cilurnum (Chesters), in which coins of the Constantinian family have been found, I picked up lately the bottom of a vessel of similar stone-coloured ware of a larger size.

Two other fragments also met with in this hut-circle, very thin and of a bright red colour, seem to be flakes from the inside of a Roman vessel of Samian ware. Besides these, the half of the upper stone of a quern of mill-stone grit, twelve inches in diameter by four in height, a fossil from the limestone formation, *Productus giganteus*, hollowed out, and probably valued by the primitive collector, some water-rounded pebbles, perhaps used as pounders, small pieces of surface coal-shale, and many stones reddened by fire, a proof of prolonged occupation, were met with throughout the floored space.

As to size and constructive arrangements this circular chamber or dwelling was nineteen feet in diameter, measuring within the walls, which were themselves from a yard to a yard and a half in width, and were formed with considerable care. Large binding-stones were inserted, (b) and the unhewn blocks were set up more carefully inside than outside, generally on edge, which is also, as we have seen, a characteristic of the external rampart-wall of the camp; and the hut-foundations still remain about two feet high. One peculiarity, suggestive, like the finding of the early Saxon sword, &c. of its having been the dwelling of the principal inhabitant of the ancient fortalice, was noticeable in the fact that it alone of the hut-circles which have as yet been opened out had been divided into two rooms or compartments. Close to the wave-ribbed centre slab was a cavity of about a foot square, into which, to judge from its appearance and position and traces of charcoal observed in it, there had been sunk at one time a substantial post or prop of timber, fitted to support the simple conical-shaped roof of thatch. From this central support ran in a kind of segment of a circle a double line of upright stones, (c, c) separated a few inches from each other, as if marking off the place of the rude partition, perhaps of finer wattled work of peeled withies, in which the ancient Britons excelled,<sup>a</sup> the upright posts of which could be inserted between them. The floor of this inner chamber was slightly raised above the level of the outer room, and, even if there were no partition, it may have served, when covered with the skins of animals, the spoils of the chase, as a kind of divan or couch for

<sup>a</sup> The Latin *bascauda*, as well as our word *basket*, is a form of the Welsh *basged* or *basgawd*, from the British *basg*, plaited work. Juvenal, Sat. xii. 46, ranks the imported British baskets among the precious possessions of the most wealthy Romans. Compare Martial, lib. xiv. 99, and *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. part ii. p. 367.

the inhabitants. It was also flagged throughout, though not so carefully, and the space thus inclosed gradually narrowed from its entrance, where it was five feet wide, till it coalesced with the outer wall of the hut-circle, being there only two feet in width.

CIRCULAR DWELLING NO. II. (Plate XXIX. fig. 2.)

The next primitive dwelling which we investigated was a smaller one on the north-west of the same British town, its shape being an irregular oval, thirteen feet six inches by about twelve feet. Here the entrance to the hut-circle was plainly marked, whereas the door-way of the first one could scarcely be traced; but this entrance faced towards the other circular dwelling. A curious arrangement was observed at *c*, four thin slabs being set up in a right line across the entrance, rising four inches above the level of the floor both within and without, as if to serve the double purpose of keeping out rain from the inner space and of propping up some rude kind of door. The part of the hut-circle nearest to this entrance was almost as well flagged as in the first dwelling, and with even larger stones, two of them measuring three feet by two feet six inches, and eight inches thick. The inmost space, which was of less extent, had merely a floor of clay, well beaten down (*d, d*), on which here and there a few slabs were resting, or were sometimes piled one upon another, having almost the appearance of being portions of a second floor or of primitive seats. Many small fragments of iron and charcoal, and several stones showing the action of fire, were scattered about. The upper stone of another hand-mill of hard freestone, ten inches in diameter by six high, was found built into the wall of the dwelling, at *b*, on the left of the door-way. No other implement of stone or metal came to light here.

But one important discovery, if I may so term it, rewarded our labour, in the form of a small freestone slab of an irregular oval shape (*a*), eight inches long by seven broad, and three in thickness, which has in its centre one of those mysterious cup-depressions or circular markings incised in the stone itself, which were first discovered by the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A. on the rocks near Doddington, in North Northumberland. As we now know, similar artificial markings have since been found on many other rock-surfaces from which the conserving covering of turf has been removed; also on upright and prostrate monoliths and cromlechs; and, which is especially to be noted here, on the long-buried slabs of pre-historic cists or stone-lined graves of the Stone and Bronze age



and Neolithic period, sometimes with other associated cup-markings and concentric circles, in various parts of Great Britain from Argyleshire to Cornwall.

This remarkable incised stone, now in Mr. Greenwell's collection at Durham, was placed not far from the hand-mill on the outer edge of the regular flagging of stones, and rested upon the clay floor. It is of the first type represented and described by Sir J. Y. Simpson, Bart. being of the most simple and common form, and its artificial character was proved by the pick-marks still plainly evident when closely examined. Though of frequent occurrence on rocks and monoliths outside of and not far distant from such ancient Celtic entrenchments, he remarks,<sup>a</sup> that "Within these archaic camps no lapidary circles and cups have yet, I believe, been found in immediate connection with the stones of their hut-foundations, circles, and pits—the dwelling-places of their olden inhabitants." Hence arises the interest that attaches to this cup-marked stone in the second hut-circle of the Carry House Camp.

The circular cavity itself is of the most usual size, that is, 3 in. by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter, and over half-an-inch in depth. It is a singular coincidence that not long before this discovery Mr. Greenwell and myself had found an incised stone<sup>b</sup> with a single cup-shaped depression, similar to this in every respect, in size, form, &c. in the hitherto-undisturbed centre of a cairn or tumulus in the parish of Kirk Whelpington, where we were making explorations on the property of Sir John Swinburn, Bart. The small incised slab was there discovered in an inverted position, and it gave secure standing-ground to a cinerary urn of British pottery of an early type, which was also inverted upon the stone. This urn, of which part of the rim had been broken by the fall of one of the protecting stones piled around it, contained the calcined bones of an infant, apparently only a few weeks old. In this same neighbourhood I accidentally found, among the *débris* thrown up in draining different fields, two other stones, small like these, with a similar cup-shaped depression incised upon each. One, now in my possession, which is of porphyry, had been subjected to the action of a very strong fire, perhaps during the process of the cremation of the body with which it may have been deposited; and upon it, in addition to the central cup, were the segments of two concentric circles. The remaining portion of the sculptured stone was wanting, having been broken off notwithstanding its exceeding hardness.

<sup>a</sup> *Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, &c.* p. 125. See "British Barrows," p. 7, especially p. 342 and note, and "Parish of Kirk Whelpington," p. 433.

<sup>b</sup> This stone has been since presented by Mr. Greenwell to the British Museum.

## CIRCULAR DWELLING No. III. (Plate XXIX. fig. 3.)

The shape of the third dwelling examined in this ancient town was found to be more nearly circular than the last, and it was built against the western rampart of the fort. The entrance is not at present discernible, the wall foundations being very imperfect. In diameter it is about fourteen feet and a half, and the stone floor is here almost complete except at the upper side. It has a gentle slope downwards from west to east, towards the interior of the camp. The entrance was probably at the lowest level, and the marked inclination of the floor would have the effect of keeping the dwelling free from damp. Not so many signs of burning were observed here as in the other hut-circles. A little from the centre, on the north side, was found a large slab or hearth-stone(*a*), five feet long by four broad, and nine inches thick. Only a fragment of a hard sandstone quern, a quarter of the upper millstone, and a thin semi-circular fragment of another of gritty sandstone, were here discovered, the latter being the only portion which we had yet found of a *lower* mill-stone.

## CIRCULAR DWELLING No. IV. (Plate XXIX. fig. 4.)

We now began our operations close to the centre of the camp, where the circular foundations, though indistinct, marked out a larger dwelling than the two last explored. Its diameters were, from north to south, sixteen and a half feet, and from east to west, seventeen and a half feet. The fence-wall, which bisects the ancient town, and had so long divided the two farms of Birtley Shields and Carry House from each other, is built upon its western rim. Many more traces of the action of fire appeared in this than in the other hut-circles, and were noticed throughout the whole inclosed space, leading to the supposition that it at least, if not the other dwellings also, had succumbed to the flames in some sudden onslaught of an enemy upon the fort, or by accidentally taking fire, as in the instance of an early dwelling whose destruction by the flames is graphically described by the Venerable Bede,<sup>a</sup> perhaps occurring at the close of the latest or Saxon period of its occupancy.

<sup>a</sup> Eccles. Hist. bk. iii. c. 10, p. 125, Bohn's edit. It seems doubtful from this legendary history whether the dwelling in question was British or Saxon, in which the pilgrim from the grave of St. Oswald,



The floor of flag-stones was here again very perfect, except for a little space near the entrance. The accretion of soil below the green sward was slighter than elsewhere in the camp, and made its examination easy. There was no difficulty in distinguishing the entrance to this dwelling(*d*), which faced the general entrance of the town itself at the south-east; and the doorway was protected by a projecting wall that flanked the approach on the west side of the hut-circle, just as in an adjoining early hill-fort a projecting flanking rampart exists at the entrance of the camp for additional defence. Here we obtained the upper half of a hand-mill of red granite,<sup>a</sup> which was standing up from among the stones of the floor(*a*), about a yard distant from the doorway to the right, and was ten inches in diameter, chipped around the edges both at top and bottom; also a fragment of another granite quern, a segment less than one-fourth of the under millstone. Rising above the level of the floor on the other side of the hut, and near the wall, was a boulder of another kind of granite(*b*), a foot and a half high by sixteen inches in width and thickness. It was like the grey granite of Criffel and Ayrshire, of which, I believe, boulders are not infrequent in the superficial glacial drift of the neighbouring valley of the Liddell also, and which the same glacial action may have carried over the watershed under Peel Fell, and deposited in North Tynedale. Other fragments of the same species of granite, split up by hand, were lying close to this massive block, which had probably been brought and placed there for the purpose of being shaped into the upper and under stones of another large hand-mill, such as I have obtained elsewhere in the district, formed of the same material. Two or three smooth flat pebbles of felstone, used perhaps for hones or sharpening-stones, or for pounders, were near the quern first noticed. A small piece of the thin red Samian ware, a mere flake, and a portion of the rim of a vessel of the same Roman pottery, were observed, while fragments of charcoal or charred wood, and many reddened stones, as already remarked, existed in abundance over the whole area.

The peculiar arrangement of the large square hearth-stone in this hut-circle is worthy of notice. It consisted of a series of smaller stones set upright all around

"King and Martyr," of Northumbria, at Macerfield, took refuge for a night. (The site of the memorable victory of Oswald over the British Cadwalla at Heavenfield is about six miles south-by-east from Birtley.) The habitations of both Britons and Saxons would be made of similar perishable materials, although in form those of the conquered race, "*more Scottico*," would be readily distinguishable from the dwellings of their conquerors.

<sup>a</sup> Probably from the Shap district in Westmoreland. The blocks or "boulders" of red and grey granite, frequently found in North Tynedale, prove that two currents of the glacial drift converged in the valley.

it, carefully fitted into their place, so as to stand a few inches above the level of the hearth. The stone itself (*c*), especially on the western or inner side, bears evident traces of the long-continued action of fire. The same peculiarity was also observed in opening out a hut-circle at the south-east of the Countess Park camp, a much more extensive and very perfect example of a British fort or town, three times the area of this, which lies about a mile further to the north.<sup>a</sup> Here a tempting field for exploration exists, in which we could only make a slight beginning, the whole space being thickly covered with trees and underwood. These, however, to a large extent, have been recently removed by the woodman's axe, so that in future the work of excavation would be less laborious. In this Countess Park hut-circle we found a rough stone floor almost complete, and against the wall near the entrance to the right hand was a well-arranged hearthstone, smaller than that of the Carry House dwelling just described, being only two feet by sixteen inches. This primitive fire-place, which also bore marks of long usage, was inclosed by seven slabs set on edge, one at the south and two on each of the other sides, and the stone itself was a ripple-marked sandstone, similar to the centre slab of the first dwelling opened in the Carry House camp. This "firing" is so little observable in the hearthstones of some other circular habitations, that, in order to account for it, we might surmise that the early dwellers used the other hearths in common, or preferred to do their primitive cooking *sub Jove*, outside their huts, like many savage and half-civilized tribes at the present day in various parts of the world.<sup>b</sup>

Such is an account of the results of the researches, so far as they have yet been prosecuted, in the ancient circular dwellings near the village of Birtley in North Tynedale. That the Carry House Camp would repay further exploration I have no doubt, especially as there still exists within its entrenchments the

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. vii. p. 4. Since our partial examination here the hut-circles have been nearly obliterated by draining operations.

<sup>b</sup> On a projecting spur of the Cross-Fell range, where it abruptly descends into the great basin or plain of Cumberland, close to the village of Castle-Carrook (which still retains its Celtic name), are several ancient circular pit-dwellings of undoubtedly British origin. They have not yet been properly examined, as they will be, I hope, ere long. But outside, upon this well-sheltered plateau, were found, in digging for lime, two earth-ovens, stone-lined circular pits of about a yard in depth, bearing marks of long-continued use by the primitive inhabitants of the adjoining dwellings in the reddened stones of which they were formed.

Sir Samuel Baker has described the similar modes of cooking food, and the excellent results obtained in this way, in Abyssinia. "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia," ch. xxi. pp. 361-2, edit. 1872.



very singular feature of a large cairn occupying a considerable space amongst the once inhabited dwellings of the town. About twenty years since two men who were draining a marshy hollow in the camp came to a part of the barrow where a large stone obstructed their progress. Close to it they found the small eist and its inclosed urn already mentioned. As it contained only some dust, the ashes of cremation, instead of, as they anxiously hoped, coin of the realm of ancient or modern date, the urn, which might have helped towards the decision of some interesting questions if it had been preserved, unfortunately met with summary and immediate destruction at their hands. The mass of material in this cairn, which was once much greater and still stands about four feet high, being of oval form, almost like a long barrow of the earliest British period, has been much diminished, as well as the rampart of the camp and the walls of the circular dwellings; because from time to time they have been used as a quarry, ready to their hands, by the builders and repairers of the adjoining and intersecting fences of the two farms. In these modern walls many large stones, taken thence and often much reddened by fire, are plainly to be seen. It is quite usual in this district, as elsewhere, to find early burial mounds placed outside the chief entrance of an ancient British town, as on the neighbouring Gunnerton Crag; but it seems inconsistent with their feelings of reverence with regard to their departed relatives and friends, whose shades had already entered *Annon*, the Celtic *Sheol* or *Hades*, the Land of the Dead,\* that an interment should be placed by the early date-folk within an inhabited site. An examination of this barrow might lead to valuable results.

Besides this there is a large field for further research in the other British towns which are so numerous in the Birtley, Gunnarton, and Keilder districts of the vale of the North Tyne. When time and means may permit I hope to examine into the circular dwellings of the Countess Park Camp, and on the Gunnarton Crag, where some of the hut-circles are on a larger scale than any others that I have met with in Western Northumberland.

In conclusion, I think we are certainly justified in inferring, from the results which I have already obtained and have now described, that there have been at least three periods of occupancy of these ancient dwellings by three different races, the Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon. The relics of early occupation are few, and are valuable chiefly as indications. This is indeed usually the case, as *primâ facie*

\* Davies's Celtic Researches, p. 175. It would be an interesting discovery if this tumulus proved to be the last resting-place of the last British chief of the ancient fort or town, or of the owner of the early Anglo-Saxon sword found in hut-circle No. I.

it is natural to expect to find but few relics of the far-distant past in such explorations of ancient habitations, even when made within such extensive towns, or rather closely-connected series of hill-forts, as Greaves Ash near Linhope, under the Cheviot, and of Yevering Bell, overlooking the famous field of Flodden.

#### FIRST OR CELTIC OCCUPATION.

There seems no reason to disbelieve, however, that the first builders and occupants of these very ancient towns and dwellings were of the Celtic race, living in pre-Roman times. We need not enter here on the very difficult question of the aboriginal occupation of the country by the dolicho-cephalic and brachy-cephalic races, the long heads and broad or round heads, and the precise way in which they most probably succeeded the one to the other, or became co-occupants of the soil. But in the numerous unmistakeably Celtic names, some cognate with the Gadhelic branch, as "knock," "lough," "Glen-dhu," &c., and others with the Cambrian or Welsh, as "Caer" (popularly given to these ancient towns), "cairn," "linn," &c. we may perceive that the two great branches or migrations of the Celtæ from their Aryan home westwards have thus left their indestructible traces in the local nomenclature. The character also of the pottery, rudely scored and ornamented, is of the true British type, and they have been found in adjoining barrows. And, above all, perhaps, the cup-marked stone discovered in the second hut-circle of the Carry House Camp, as an example of primitive rock-sculpture, we, with the late Mr. Albert Way, F.S.A. may consider to be "an unique aboriginal indication" in Northumberland. These seem to be so many various proofs converging towards one and the same conclusion, namely, the primary occupation of these ancient dwellings and forts by the Celts or ancient Britons, it may be for centuries before the Roman conquest, even before the march of Agricola up the valley, by the Watling Street, or the building of Hadrian's Wall from the Tyne to the Solway.

No fragment of flint, I may remark, has yet been found within this camp or its inclosed hut-circles. But in a similar hill-fort near Pasture House, in the parish of Wark, and directly opposite to the Carry House fortlet, on the other side of the valley, numerous nodules and flakes of flint were discovered some years since, together with two granite querns, in ploughing over the site in a field then under tillage. A kind of manufactory of flint implements seems to have



been established there in pre-historic times, like a similar one noticed by the late Duke Algernon of Northumberland, near Rothbury; and the materials, if not found as boulders in the upper bed of the river, must have been brought as valuable importations from the Yorkshire coast—probably from near Whitby, whither they have been rolled by currents from the coast farther south.<sup>a</sup> I found a thumb-flint and scraper near the cinerary urn of the eastern cist of a large barrow which I opened a few years since at Warkshaugh, in a field on the margin of the river, where many flakes and chippings of flint were known to have been picked up by the farm labourers. Mr. Way told me that he possessed a flint arrow-head from the valley of the North Tyne, and Mr. Tate, of Alnwick, informed me that he had found specimens of true flint in Lewis Burn, and a small boulder in the Whickhope Burn, near Keilder.

Celtic relics of gold have been discovered in the district near to Birtley; as, for example, a necklace of gold beads, now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which came to light on the demolition of a cairn at Four Laws, near Ridsdale.<sup>b</sup> About ten years since a gold armlet was found near Bellingham, about four miles distant, but “under the pressure of the absurd laws regarding treasure-trove it was consigned to the melting-pot.”<sup>c</sup>

Other interesting illustrations, though less intrinsically valuable, of the life of the West Northumbrian Celts of pre-Roman and Romano-British days, the race of which an inland sept and hill-tribe first constructed and inhabited these ancient dwellings and entrenched towns, have come into my own possession or that of my friends and neighbours in the beautiful valleys of the North Tyne and Rede.<sup>d</sup> These may be briefly described. Two celts or axes of felstone, one unfortunately broken, were found last year in draining a field near Woodburn, and are whitened on the surface by weathering, like one found in Solway Moss, now in the British Museum, which is figured by Mr. John Evans, F.S.A. in his “Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain.”<sup>e</sup> They are of the Neolithic age, being ground and polished. The broken celt is of more massive character than the perfect one,

<sup>a</sup> Nat. Hist. Trans. of Northumberland and Durham, vol. i. part ii. p. 164, 1866. The Rev. John Thompson gave me a small javelin-head of flint, found on the Warkshaugh farm by a labourer in 1874.

<sup>b</sup> See *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. i. p. 1.

<sup>c</sup> North Tynedale and its Four Graynes, by Edward Charlton, M.D. D.C.L. p. 8, 2nd edition.

<sup>d</sup> Through the kindness of Mr. Hugh Taylor, Chipechase Castle, Mr. Hunter Allgood, Nunwick, the Rev. William Greenwell, F.S.A. Mr. Arkle, High Laws, Morpeth, and Mr. Hall, Dunnshouses, Otterburn, several implements and weapons of stone and bronze were exhibited when this paper was read.

<sup>e</sup> Fig. 91, p. 138.

and may have been perforated in the head portion which is lost. A very large and excellent specimen of the same type was also not long ago discovered in Redewater.

A bronze axe, of the winged celt or palstave type, like that engraved by Sir John Lubbock,<sup>a</sup> and in excellent preservation, was found in 1865 in a peat-bog near Elsdon. There is a very interesting handle of wood for a similar bronze celt in the British Museum, found in the salt-mines at Hallein, in Austria. Another bronze axe of a more usual type was found at Bellingham. A beautiful bronze javelin-head of later type, looped at both sides, was discovered about twenty-five years since in cutting a drain near Otterburn. I am informed that it is very similar in size and shape to one found in the county of Tyrone, in Ireland, and another from Peel, in the Isle of Man. Two bronze spearheads, unsocketed, were brought to me by the mason who found them, thrust point downwards, eighteen inches below the surface of the soil, when he was uncovering the rock in the Park House Quarry, near Chipchase Castle. Within a few feet of the same spot, hidden in a cleft of the rock, two small socketed celts of bronze were discovered last year by another quarryman. It will be interesting to watch future operations in the same quarry in the hope that other ancient implements may be brought to light since so many have already been found there. A bronze leaf-shaped sword, discovered with another similar one in ploughing a field at Brandon, in the parish of Ingram, not far from the ancient British town of Greaves Ash, in the vale of the Breamish (of which there has been no notice hitherto so far as I am aware), may well illustrate the kind of weapon in use among the Celtic tribes or septs in North Tynedale and elsewhere in the flanks of the Cheviot range in the bronze period. In type it is considered to be more like the swords from Ireland than the English specimens such as those which have been discovered in the bed of the Thames. The late Dr. Thurnam<sup>b</sup> gives a very similar example from Glamorganshire. Mr. Jewitt, F.S.A. also represents a bronze sword closely resembling it.<sup>c</sup> In Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-Historic Times* is a *facsimile* of this Northumbrian sword, the specimen there given, however, being from Ireland.<sup>d</sup> The mark left by the handle, probably of bone or wood, which has perished, is still on the blade where it had been riveted to the metal, and, to judge from the appearance of part of the blade, the swords seem to have fallen across each other as they lay on the ground until their recent discovery.

<sup>a</sup> *Pre-Historic Times*, 1st edition, fig. 2, pp. 13 and 15. See also *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. pl. xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. p. 480, fig. 176.

<sup>c</sup> *Grave Mounds and their Contents*, fig. 299, p. 191.

<sup>d</sup> P. 16, fig. 14, 1st edition.



These ancient implements or weapons, although not found in the course of our explorations near Birtley, are of special interest, being from the same locality and not previously described. They serve as representative weapons of the first, the aboriginal or Celtic, inhabitants of the old fortified town and its circular dwellings recently explored.

#### SECOND OR ROMANO-BRITISH OCCUPATION.

As it seems thus certain that some tribe or clan of the Celtic stock constructed and first dwelt in these North Tynedale hill-forts, so also we infer that their descendants of the pure British or else of Romano-British race continued with slight intermission to inhabit these primitive abodes, perhaps during all the centuries of the Roman rule in Britain, and even after the recall of the legions to the defence of the Eternal City. It may be that at first the Britons who lived to the north of the Roman Wall, entrenched in stronger positions, such as the *Gunnar Heugh* and *Mill-Knock* Camps, and in more numerous hill-forts and valley fastnesses, opposed themselves still more resolutely than their compatriots, who lived to the south of the Great Barrier, to the victorious legionaries of Agricola and Hadrian. In the Late Celtic bronze buckle used in the trappings of their chariot-horses we possess a remarkable proof of the existence, even among the Britons so far north as the vale of North Tyne, of the *Esseda*, *Rheda*, or *Covinus* of the Roman writers, the travelling or war-chariot, whatever its name might be, that in these far-distant days used to pass in its rapid course along the ancient native trackways or Roman roads of the district, if not before, yet certainly during, the long period of the Roman supremacy. As in the barrows at Arras, near Godmanham, among the Yorkshire Wolds, the buried remains of more than one old British chariot have been found, interred together with its former possessor and his war-steeds,<sup>a</sup> so here in the hut-circle of the Carry House Camp among the Northumbrian hills we have come for the first time in the two northern counties of England upon a slight but sufficient indication of the same kind of vehicle and the same mode of warfare, in which, like the ancient Greek heroes, the Britons of this age excelled. Their marvellous dexterity in the very

<sup>a</sup> History and Antiquities of the County and City of York, in which see the account of the discovery at Arras, by the Rev. E. W. Stillingfleet, in 1816-17.

turmoil of battle, as we all know, called forth Julius Cæsar's undisguised admiration.<sup>a</sup>

But here, too, within these ancient circular dwellings, the Roman masters of the land, the second dominant race, also appear on the scene. They have left a few relics, faint but unmistakeable evidence of their civilizing influence, probably also of their presence, in the scattered fragments of stone-coloured and Samian ware, now first brought to the light of day after the lapse of so many centuries of dark oblivion.

### THIRD OR SAXON OCCUPATION.

It appears to be equally plain, from the singular discovery of the Saxon sword of iron, still sheathed in its bronze-tipped scabbard, that a third race came into possession of the ancient town as conquerors in the land, like their Roman predecessors, and also of an alien stock. Teutons, not Celts or Romanised Britons, they drove out the original owners or the then inhabitants, who may have suffered before this from the fierce Pict and Scot, and who were apparently contented to live on in the self-same way and on the same site, within the same entrenched and strongly-palisaded camp, occupying the same circular dwellings, only renovated or repaired as to wattled wall and thatched roof, as circumstances required or necessity urged them, perhaps for hundreds of years afterwards, in medieval times and under Norman rule.<sup>b</sup>

It is a remarkable coincidence, which I must not omit to record, that near the village of Barrasford, about four miles to the south-east of Birtley, we have an

<sup>a</sup> De Bello Gallico, lib. iv. c. 33, already cited. This mode of fighting with chariots seems to have been limited to the Britons, and not to have been in use among the other nations of Europe in the Roman period. As we know from many references in the Old Testament and from sculptures on the ancient monuments, war-chariots were common among the Jews, Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Trojans. Hence, Geoffrey of Monmouth argues that the Britons were of Trojan origin. Scythe-bearing chariots (ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα) held a prominent position in the military arrangements of the ancient Persians especially. See Xenophon's Anabasis, bk. i. c. vii. §§ 10, 11; described Ibid. bk. i. viii. 10, on which is a note in Dr. White's edition. It is said that scythed-chariots were first introduced by Cyrus the Great, but, according to Diodorus, Ninus possessed one. Compare Josh. xvii. 18, where Gesenius (Hebrew Lexicon) translates "chariots with scythes;" occurring also Judges, i. 19, iv. 3, *et passim*.

<sup>b</sup> This may be an allowable conjecture, but no proof of a later occupation of British sites than that of the early Saxon invaders, as in this Carry House Camp, has been discovered hitherto, so far as I am aware. Further explorations may throw light on this point.



instance of a similar Anglo-Saxon appropriation of a British work. This was a secondary (Saxon) interment, found in a Celtic barrow or cairn. The projecting part of the *umbo* or boss of an Anglo-Saxon shield, discovered there above the primary interment, was of extraordinary dimensions, and several ornamental discs of silver, varying in size, were found with it, which Mr. H. Maclauchlan, F.G.S. brought to London soon after they came into his possession, about ten years since, to show to our Director, Mr. Franks, and to the late Mr. Way. These silver discs had served in part to cover the rivet-heads which attached the boss to the wooden shield, and the relics are now in the museum at Alnwick Castle,<sup>a</sup> with some fragments of an Anglo-Saxon sword which was found also above the site of the British interment in the same barrow. The primary interment was known to be Celtic from the character of the rudely-scored unglazed pottery, a broken urn which was brought to light at the same time in excavating the railway cutting that passed through the great cairn then standing on the brow of the deep ravine of the Swinburn, near the Barrasford Station.

And thus, without entering at present into any minute details connected with the primitive life and social customs of the ancient inhabitants, and whether or no we admit an early or later medieval occupation of the Carry House, and other adjacent camps and hut-circles, of which we have up to the present time obtained no decided indications, we may safely make some interesting deductions. From the data already ascertained and described in the preceding pages we have arrived especially at this one definite fact, which is of some historical and archæological interest and significance, that the three earliest races of mankind of the Aryan stock, who possessed Britain one after the other, are represented, in the sure evidence of characteristic relics found *in situ*, as the successive occupants of the circular dwellings of this ancient British town.

<sup>a</sup> The ancient weapons, &c. found in the course of these explorations in the Carry House Camp, near Birtley, have also found an appropriate resting place in the same museum.

XVII.—*On the Alban Necropolis, said to have been covered up by a Volcanic Eruption. Communicated through W. M. WYLIE, Esq. F.S.A. by PADRE RAFFAELE GARRUCCI, Hon. F.S.A.*

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Read June 24th, 1876.

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TEN years have passed away since the Duc de Blacas,<sup>a</sup> at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of France, discussed the question of the celebrated Alban Necropolis, discovered in 1817, by Giuseppe Carnevali, *beneath* an undisturbed mass of peperino, while nearly the same space of time has elapsed since the revival among ourselves of the question of the discovery of vessels anterior to the last volcanic eruption round about the crater of the Alban lake.

The Duke had no doubts as to the truth of this discovery, which, moreover, was strengthened by the legal document that Carnevali caused to be drawn up and duly attested. Among the attesting witnesses are certain workmen, who depose as to their knowledge of the frequent finding of nails, bits of iron, and like objects, *in* the solid mass of peperino.<sup>b</sup> It is true there were complaints at the time on the part of Signori Fea and Valadier, but not of a nature to raise doubts as to the truth of the transaction. They only asserted that the discovery of the vessels took place in 1816, and was made by the labourers employed in levelling the road leading from the Albano highway, by the Pascolare of Castel Gandolfo, to the villa of Prince Giovanni Torlonia, so that from that time forth Professor Ponzi considered the fact proved beyond all doubt, since, as he writes, "the discovery was authenticated in legal form, and cannot, therefore, be controverted."<sup>c</sup>

Then we read a similar opinion given by Sir John Lubbock, MM. Pigorini,

<sup>a</sup> Mémoire d'une découverte de vases funéraires près d'Albano. Paris, 1865.

<sup>b</sup> Visconti, pp. 38-40. "Lettera al Signor Giuseppe Carnevali di Albano, sopra alcuni vasi sepolcrali rinvenuti nelle vicinanze della antica Alba Longa." Roma, 1817.

<sup>c</sup> Il Periodo Glaciale. Roma, 1865.



Fiorelli, De' Rossi, Rosa, and Ponzi,<sup>a</sup> who in 1866 made an excursion to the Pascolare di Castello. In the same tone also L. Ceselli refers unreservedly to the finding by Colonel Alessandro Gariboldi, at Fontana di Papa, between two beds of peperino, of a cist of the same stone, containing six vessels, with a bronze knife, all which were presented by him to Ceselli.<sup>b</sup> Then comes Signor M. S. De' Rossi's account of other discoveries of a like nature, among which the most remarkable are those of Alberico Cittadini and a certain Evangelisti.<sup>c</sup> So that it truly would appear an act of temerity to attempt opposition in the face of such and so many discoveries and witnesses.

Nevertheless, being here upwards of twelve months at Villa Torlonia, close to Castel Gandolfo and the Pascolare, I thought it well to occupy myself with these discoveries, and to make myself fully acquainted with them. This the more, since, in 1865, the Duc de Blacas had written to me that the Society of Antiquaries of France had not given credit to the statement of Signor Cartacci, of Genzano, that a melted *semis* had been struck out of a mass of peperino in blasting the rock. I must, however, confess that during all this time, notwithstanding my very close researches, I have not succeeded in discovering anything of the kind, so I betook myself to interrogating the workmen, who for many years have quarried the peperino, and broken it up for repairing the roads; as also the proprietors, who every year carry on works in their vineyards. I will now state the results of my inquiries.

The labourers, and especially a foreman of road works, who has been so engaged above twenty-seven years, and directs the quarrymen employed all the winter in breaking up the solid mass of peperino with wedges and hammers, as also those labourers whose duty it is to break the stone into small pieces for mending the road from Albano to Marino, by Castello, all agree in declaring that never, during the whole course of their works, have they found any kind of manufactured objects *in* the peperino--neither in the mass, nor when broken up for repairs of the road. And it cannot be said that they have not paid attention to

<sup>a</sup> Notes on Hut Urns, &c. from Marino, near Albano. *Archæologia*, vol. XLII. p. 99-123.

It should be stated that an unfortunate error has occurred in the plates of this paper. The Etruscan vessels (pl. ix. figs. 1, 2, 3, and pl. x. figs. 2, 5) were found, not at Marino, but in the famous Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri. Four of these vessels are in the Vatican Museum and one at Parma. We owe the discovery of this error to Count Conestabile, of Perugia, who points it out in his work, "*Sovra due Dischi in Bronzo*," p. 29. Torino, 1874.

<sup>b</sup> *Dell' Arte Ceramica Primitiva di Lazio*, p. 20. Roma, 1868. Also Notice by W. M. Wylie, in *Archæologia*, vol. XLII. p. 487, pl. xxxi.

<sup>c</sup> *Secondo Rapporto*. Roma, 1868.

the point, for they are given to such inquiries—so much so, that they are apt to deceive themselves, and others also. Not long since they kept a piece of peperino for me under the belief that it contained a fragment of brick, but I had no difficulty in proving to them that it was but a red stone. So that, with regard to any object of human industry met with *in* the solid peperino, I have not been able up to the present time to obtain evidence from those who alone are in a position to furnish it.

We now come to such discoveries as apply to the vessels found *under* the strata of peperino, and which rest on evidence of both ancient and modern date. It was but natural on my part to begin my examination with the latter, as I should be able to interrogate the very witnesses who were quoted in support of the judgment pronounced. This done I could proceed with more confidence to examine the depositions of Carnevali, which are of more ancient date.

The first witness, therefore, whom I examined, was Alberico Cittadini, steward of his Excellency Prince Alessandro Torlonia, and who has resided in Castel Gandolfo for several years. Besides my own knowledge of his education and capacity, he seemed well qualified for the purpose by the honourable title of “intelligent proprietor,” which was bestowed on him by Signor Michele Stefano de’ Rossi, who, *on his authority*, relates the discovery of sixteen or twenty vessels “on the removal of the peperino when the vineyard was cleared, and he (Cittadini) collected, with his own hands, these ancient vessels.”<sup>a</sup> But since De’ Rossi further asserts that Evangelisti, an adjoining proprietor, “while breaking the edges of the first stratum of peperino, in the usual yellowish volcanic sand,” had found, in March, 1868, fifty Latian vessels, together with many bronze fibulæ, and a knife, or lance, also of bronze, the greater part of which vessels were broken, or dispersed, and that such dispersion furnished the six vessels and the bronze knife in Ceselli’s collection, I begged Cittadini to obtain an authentic account of the discovery from Evangelisti, reserving to myself to examine Ceselli. The following is Cittadini’s reply, which I feel obliged to give here translated verbatim :—

“ MOST REVEREND FATHER,

“ Castel Gandolfo, 19th Dec. 1874.

“ I feel it my duty to reply to your esteemed letter of the 17th instant, in which you asked me the following questions :

“ 1. Whether in clearing my ground, which fronts the Via Appia Nuova, precisely opposite the chapel of S. Sebastian, I had found some fifteen or twenty vessels, partly Latian, partly Etruscan, *under the peperino*, which I had to break up for the purpose of planting a vineyard there ?

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<sup>a</sup> Secondo Rapporto, p. 29.



"2. Whether under any circumstances I had ever heard or known of vessels found *in* or *under* the solid peperino, or any other objects that would attest the presence of man during the period of volcanic eruption?"

"So far as I am concerned I can say, that, in the course of the clearing, I found fifteen or twenty vessels, the greater part of which were broken, and I still have some of the fragments, but they were all *above* the peperino—*none* *beneath* it. I admit further that I was questioned some years ago on the same subject by a person well versed in archæology, and it may be that my replies were misunderstood; or I may not have explained myself as far as was required to clear up a fact so interesting to science, and the safe advance of history.

"At your suggestion I have also questioned Andrea Evangelisti respecting the discovery of certain vessels, and a bronze knife, during the trenching of his ground, which adjoins mine. Evangelisti affirms this, and states that he met with all these objects, not between two beds of peperino, or in the earth, but all beneath a volcanic substance, less solid than peperino, commonly called *cappellaccio*. I will conclude by saying that I have often heard people speak of antiquities found *under* the peperino, but I protest that I never saw them with my own eyes.

"Your humble servant,

"ALBERICO CITTADINI."

The clear result of this remarkable evidence of the "intelligent proprietor," Alberico Cittadini, is, that the two discoveries of vessels, which, according to De' Rossi, took place "when the peperino was cut," and "while breaking up the edges of the first stratum of peperino," are not verified. They never occurred except in the *cappellaccio*,<sup>a</sup> or in the vegetal earth. To show, however, how little we can rely on such accounts, De' Rossi's further statement as to the vessels and bronze knife is incorrect. Ceselli assures me—as indeed he had before stated in print—that the aforesaid six vessels, and the knife, were found by Colonel Gariboldi at Fontana di Papa, in a cist of peperino. He further tells me his opinion is that this cist, which was found between two beds of peperino, had been inserted there from the road which passes in front.

After these statements it matters little when De' Rossi writes of the Ariccia find of *æs rude* and *æs signatum* as having been met with between two beds of peperino, and of the melted *semis* as issuing from *within* a solid mass of peperino. I am a contemporary of both discoveries, and the information I sought at the time, and obtained, was of very different character. Thus, the treasure of *æs rude*, above mentioned, was found while grubbing up the roots of a tree; and the

<sup>a</sup> It may be well to explain that this *cappellaccio* is a substance composed of volcanic sand and the detritus of rocks, immediately overlying the actual volcanic peperino stone. Hence, perhaps, its name. *Cappellaccio*, though sufficiently solid, like a gravel stratum, is easily broken and worked with common field implements. Peperino has to be quarried like other stone. Padre Garrucci observes elsewhere that the only mode of reconciling the discrepancies in the accounts of finding the vessels is to suppose that some of the narrators apply the term peperino to this solid *upper* stratum of *cappellaccio*.—W. M. W.

*semis* flew up in the air, on the firing a mine, without any one being able to say whence it proceeded.

It now remains for us to examine the celebrated document of Carnevali, which has never been done before. Indeed it has carried such a degree of weight with it as to cause the belief that "the discovery was authenticated in legal form, and therefore could not be controverted."

Carlo Tomasetti deposes, Feb. 1817, to having opened the ground in his vineyard at Monte Cucco, near Marino, on the road to Castel Gandolfo, for the purpose of thoroughly breaking it up. That on the 28th Jan. 1817, "while engaged in breaking an elongated mass of peperino that slopes down from the hill, he met with several ancient cinerary vessels, all broken by the weight of the mass above them, with a single exception. That Signor Carnevali of Albano consulted him (Tomasetti) as to the probability of finding more vessels if a fresh excavation and cutting were effected in a solid mass of peperino known to exist in another part of the vineyard in its natural state. Signor Tomasetti replying in the affirmative, the aforesaid Signor Carnevali resolved on carrying this out."

Tomasetti further deposes that on the 4th of February he went with four excavators, and six witnesses, accompanied by Carnevali, to open the ground. In these fresh works were found "broken vessels, and fragments of earthen jars. These were not particularly small, nor in a heap together, but lying detached at some little distance from each other. One single vessel was perfect—that is, all the fragments were there. The fractures were seen to be of ancient date."

The details of this excavation, made in the presence of witnesses, are thus given in the document:—"In the beginning of the excavation there was found to be barely one palm and a half of natural soil. Beneath was the solid peperino, which, when broken up, proved to be two palms thick, and as the work progressed the peperino was found to increase in thickness, while that of the superincumbent earth diminished. Below this solid mass of peperino was a stratum of whitish earth, almost chalky, which was continuously excavated to a depth of three good palms. Three hours after commencing our work we found an earthen vessel in this ground below the fractured peperino. On measuring this underlying ground at the point where the vessel was met with it was found to be one palm and a half thick." I have already given the passage in which he goes on to speak of the fragmentary vessels. It is however very remarkable that none of these fragments would correspond with each other, so as to furnish an idea of their original form, excepting those of the well-known one "that had the shape of a stewing-pan."



The perfect resemblance of the two excavations of Jan. 28th and Feb. 4th is also memorable. In the former case fractured vessels were found, one only being perfect, but in pieces; in the latter case also fractured vessels were found, one only being perfect, but in pieces. This Tomasetti also mentions that Carnevali trenched some ground at a short distance from his vineyard, "where he found a quantity of cinerary vessels still existing."

Now none of the people of Castello can call to mind that Carnevali ever had a vineyard in the Pascolare of Castello which he could have trenched, or that any one else ever did so on his account. We know however, from another quarter, that the vessels which came into his possession really were exhumed in the Pascolare, but by the workmen of Valadier, in 1816, as is proved by the complaints of this celebrated architect, and Signor Fea, conjointly, in the public journals. Other vessels, among which must be enumerated those sold by Carnevali to the Duc de Blacas—of which no one has been aware till now—were found by the Surgeon Giuseppe Marini. This, however, was not in the Pascolare but in a vineyard of his, at a spot called Fosso del Orso, near the Alban Emissario.<sup>a</sup> These vessels, sixteen in number, were lying on a level in the *cappellaccio*, one before the other, sound and entire. The four vessels found by the steward of Prince Errico Barberini at Vignole, near the Alban Road,<sup>b</sup> are also sound and entire. So too are those found by Cittadini on his property at St. Sebastiano, near Castello, and so for the most part are those found by Evangelisti in the *cappellaccio*. From all these finds then we may deduce that Tomasetti's vineyard at Monte Cucco had been broken up at some remote period, when the sepulchral vessels of this portion of the Alban Necropolis were also broken up, and so completely disordered that it was impossible to put together and reconstruct the fragments, as Carnevali and the witnesses then present describe.

We see from these stories of the discovery of vessels in banks of *cappellaccio*, of sand, of volcanic ashes, homogeneous and compact, that the narrators would have us believe that the vessels were not *deposited* there, but buried by the volcanic eruption; and therefore that the Alban Necropolis existed before the period when the volcano became extinct, and the Alban Lake was formed in its extinct crater.

I affirm, therefore, that the very accounts given by the persons who maintain the necropolis to have been buried by the volcanic eruption prove that the cinerary

<sup>a</sup> Scavi della Necropoli Albana, p. 9. Prato, 1875.

<sup>b</sup> Op. cit. in pl. a, b, c, d, p. 11.

urns were introduced into the *cappellaccio*, sand, or ashes, *after* such volcanic eruption. If this were not so, it would be incumbent on the narrators to define and indicate to us the actual site and surface of the necropolis, which they tell us was covered by the eruption. Surely they do not pretend that the ancient peoples, so observant of religion towards their dead, had exposed the ashes of the burned corpses in their *olle* on the open space, bare of all defence! Thus far, however, we have read nothing to this effect. But, in lieu thereof, attestations are set before us, made with all serious earnestness, as to the ordinary finding of such cinerary urns in a state, as it were, of immersion; sand or ashes, compact and homogeneous, being above, below, and around them. So to speak, they were cemented up in these substances, affording a novel spectacle of cinerary urns, in some aerial necropolis, surprised, overwhelmed, and cemented up, by a sudden volcanic eruption!

In order to put an end to such dreams it is necessary to state that these urns were introduced in the sand, or ashes, or *cappellaccio*, by means of excavations, and covered up again with the same substances, which the modern explorers have fancied the hand of man had never disturbed.

When Giuseppe Marini, whom I just now named, saw the sixteen vessels exhumed before his eyes at the Fosso del Orso, which were afterwards taken from him and sold to Carnevali, he, being skilled in the matter, observed that the *cappellaccio* where the vessels were buried seemed to have been moved, while on the right and left of the spot it remained firm and solid. This he often mentioned, as I am informed by his son, the Rev. Signore Domenico Marini, a trustworthy person, who assures me he perfectly remembers his father's account of the matter, and also the vessels themselves, which he recognized in the plates of Alessandro Visconti and the Duc de Blacas, on my showing them to him.

The ancient people of Alba practised inhumation and cremation indifferently, just as did the Prænestines, in whose necropolis, however, the use of inhumation prevailed. I am persuaded that by the Albans also the rite of inhumation was much practised. I must put my readers on their guard that, when mention is made of cinerary urns, they must not always conclude these to have been designed to receive the ashes of the dead, though I have retained the term in this discussion in the sense erroneously imputed to it. In fact the Alban urns—like those of the Etruscans and the Latins—are for the most part but mere ornaments of the tomb. They generally have no covers, which would hardly be the case had they been destined for cinerary purposes.

The Alban custom was to sink a grave either in the sand or the earth, and if



this was not of sufficient depth they cut *into* the solid mass of peperino which underlies the earth. There they deposited the corpse, with the vessels around it, and then covered the whole with the soil or sand taken from the grave. Above this were heaped up the fragments cut from the peperino, so as to form a covering of the tomb; and occasionally, instead of this heap, they substituted a great slab of peperino.<sup>a</sup>

Of this kind are the tombs found during the recent works in the vineyard of Gaudenzio Testa, the particulars of which I have collected. This Alban soil and sand consume not merely the flesh of bodies interred but also the bones, so no surprise is created at finding groups of vessels here and there without any traces of skeletons.<sup>b</sup>

Testa assures me that in all the various tombs the only human remains he ever met with was a single lower jawbone. In fifty-six tombs which I opened at Palestrina I only once found human bones. I will not now repeat what I have explained in another work as to the discoveries in the Testa vineyard.<sup>c</sup> I must however mention that these have been the means of dispersing, like mist, the

<sup>a</sup> Such a quadrilateral tomb, cut in the solid peperino rock, and covered with a slab of the same stone, was opened in the Testa vineyard in Padre Garrucci's presence. Of the skeleton once there only the lower jaw and teeth remained. With it were two bronze fibulæ of the late Etruscan or Latin type. One of these has two bronze rings suspended on the *acus*. There were also an iron spear-head and two hand-made earthen vessels.

Another interment contained two iron spear-heads and a vessel with broken rim. It is of black pottery with mamillary protuberances around it, and vandyked linear ornamentation.—W. M. W.

<sup>b</sup> Light sandy soil, such as this in question, admits the air, and is unfavourable to the conservation of human remains.

<sup>c</sup> Scavi della Necropoli Albana, fatta da Gaudenzio Testa, e da Sante Limiti, nel 1874, descritte ed illustrati da Raffaele Garrucci d. C. d. G. Prato, Tipografia Giachetti, 1875.

This little work enters further into details, and should be read by any one wishing to study the subject in all its bearings. We learn more particularly from it that Padre Garrucci himself was present at the discoveries in Testa's vineyard, when the ground was broken to a depth of 17 palms without finding anything *in* the peperino or in the ground beneath it. In the volcanic soil above the peperino were graves which yielded vessels, with iron spear-heads and bronze fibulæ. Testa had made from the graves a collection of vessels similar to the usual Latian vessels. One of these is identical with the one figured in *Archæologia*, vol. XLII. pl. xxxi. fig. 2, from the Ceselli collection. Another resembles a very remarkable one of the mamillary form, figured in Ceselli's *Ceramica Primitiva nel Lazio*, tav. i. 15.

An important result of Padre Garrucci's personal supervision is that he finds these interments correspond closely with those he formerly investigated at Palestrina, which enabled him to fix the date more closely. It will be remembered he favoured us with an account of these Palestrina interments in *Archæologia*, vol. XLI.—W. M. W.

pretended very remote antiquity—called pre-historic—of the Latian vessels, handmade, sun-baked, and of the form and rough material peculiar to these people. In fact the Alban Necropolis, in its full extent, cannot claim a higher antiquity than the fourth or fifth century of Rome. Such is the deduction furnished by facts and comparison.

To crown the whole comes the famous discovery of the spear in the vineyard of Sante Limiti, which also, like that of Testa, is adjacent to Monte Cuoco, where Tomasetti carried on his excavations. Now this weapon, which is of bronze, was buried in a bank of volcanic *débris*, which, by reason of its being rather hard, is here termed *cappellaccio*, and even *peperino*. A little removed from it was the ferrule of the spear-staff, and by it an entire vessel, with its cover, and fragments of others. In the same spot, but at a higher level, were some tombs covered with large tiles, on which I read the stamps DOMITI and L. TARTIHERONIS. A tile was also found with a circular stamp, which reads—

EX P DOMITIAE DOMITIANI.

SVLPIC.

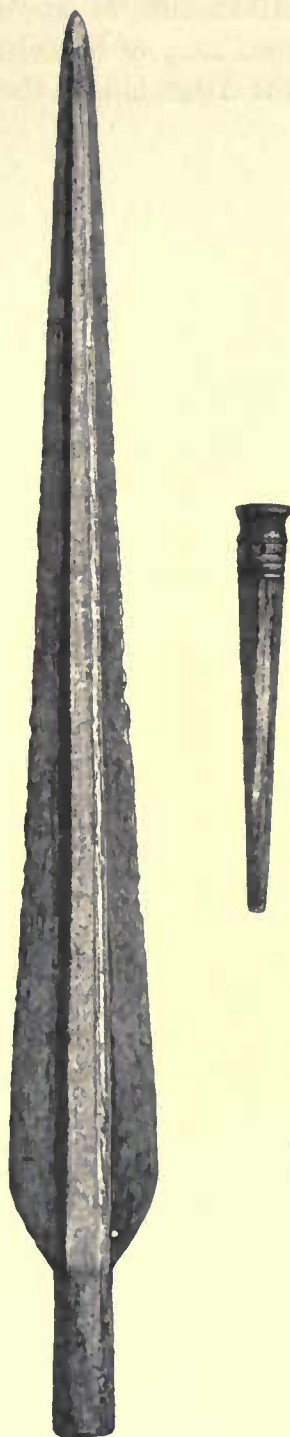
But to return to the spear, I consider this discovery of the greatest value, and fatal to our opponents, as showing that at the period when it was interred there were no volcanic eruptions. In my "Scavi della Necropoli Albana"<sup>a</sup> I have given my reasons for considering this weapon to be

<sup>a</sup> In this work Padre Garrucci gives the length of this remarkable spear as 58 centimètres, or more than 23 inches. The stem is not rounded, but polygonal, and the central rib is very flat, which suggest Italic affinities, but Padre Garrucci asserts positively that the spear is neither Greek, nor Etruscan, nor Latin, but Keltic. He ascribes its presence here to the second Gaulish invasion of Italy, v. c. 394, which he supports by these references—

*Dionysius Hal.* (Excerpt. Maï, l. xiv. c.xii.) Οἱ Κελτοὶ τῇ Ρωμῇ ἐκ δευτέρου στρατεύσαντες τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀλβανὴν ἐπόρθουν.

*Polybius*, ii. 18. παραγενομένων δὲ πάλιν τῶν Κελτῶν εἰς Ἀλβαν στρατεύματι μεγάλῃ.

*Livy*, lib. vii. cap. xi. "Fœdæ populationes in Lavicano, Tusculanoque et Albano agro sunt factæ."—W. M. W.



BRONZE SPEAR AND FERRULE  
FOUND AT ALBANO.



Keltic. If so, we may conclude that before the coming of the Kelts to the Alban hills the eruptions had ceased. It is also certain, from the concordant testimony of historians, that the Kelts—that is, the Gaulish Kelts—devastated the Alban hills in the year of Rome 394.

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XVIII.—*An Account of Excavations made on the site of the Chapter-house of Durham Cathedral in 1874. By the Rev. J. T. FOWLER, M.A. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Durham.*

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Read April 15, 1875.

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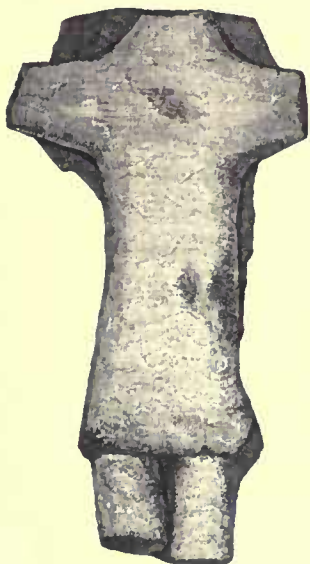
THE sad story of the demolition of the Chapter-house at Durham has been so often told that it need not be repeated here. The eastern portion of that fine Norman building having been levelled to the ground at the end of the last century, its site came to form a portion of the Deanery garden, formerly the centry-garth or cemetery of the Abbey. In the summer of 1874, while a party of friends staying at the Deanery were surveying the spot, some curiosity was expressed as to whether the floor remained buried under the soil, and whether any part of the stone chair, the *sedes episcopalis*, in which the bishops were placed at their enthronement, was still in existence.<sup>a</sup> An iron rod forced into the ground in several places was found to be stopped by something hard, at a greater depth westward than eastward, the difference being caused by the steps of the apse. A small excavation a little to the east of the present east wall revealed the inscribed slab of Ralph Flambard, and another on the site of the chair brought to light the lower courses of the semicircular eastern wall; no trace however of the chair itself could be found. It was now determined by the Dean that the removal of the earth should be proceeded with until at least all the central portion of the floor should be exposed, in order that the grave-covers indicated in Browne Willis's plan, of which one had been already found, might again be seen. When this was done it was found that the floor-slabs had been removed from all the five graves in this portion of the Chapter-house; two of them had disappeared altogether, three of them (displaced), with a fragment of another, remained. The condition of the graves will be described in connection with their contents, each

<sup>a</sup> See Carter's plates, and Rites of Durham, Surtees Society's edition, p. 48.



separately. The foundations of the walls and buttresses remained, as also portions of the floor pavement, consisting of square stones, as shown in the plan.<sup>a</sup> (Plate XXX.) The steps to the apse were found in a mutilated condition. Furthermore it appeared that, below the level of the graves of the bishops, the earth was full in all directions of interments of men, women, and children, the adult skulls being of a distinctly long-headed type, and so, as is believed, marking a cemetery belonging to the period previous to the expulsion of the secular married canons by Bishop de St. Carileph in 1083.<sup>b</sup> Here was also found a mass of masonry, shown in the plan, and probably a portion of the buildings of Ealdhun's time;<sup>c</sup> also a portion of a small stone crucifix (see woodcut), which may be as early.

The three grave-slabs which remained were severally inscribed—



STONE FIGURE.

✠ RANNVLFVS EPISCOPVS.

✠ WILLIS : EPISCOPVS : SECVNDVS.

✠ GAVFRIDVS EPI(SCOPVS).

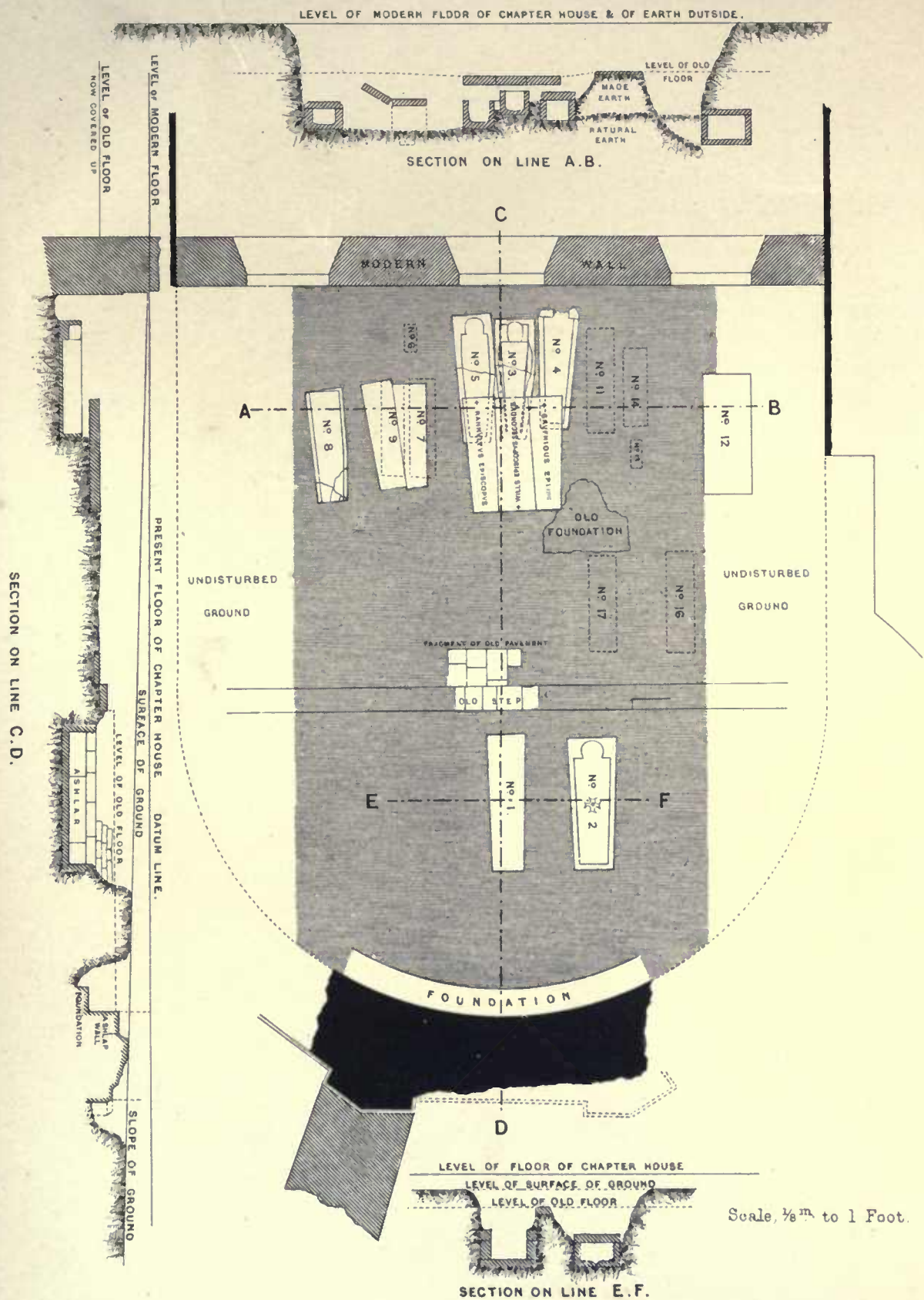
and were those of Ralph Flambard (1099-1128), William de St. Barbara (1143-1152), and Geoffrey Rufus (1133-1140). They were found lying in this order, the middle one wrong end first, and all shifted about half their length eastward. (See plan.) They were all of freestone, of the simple character shown in the plan, and of an average thickness. All were more or less injured by the fall of the groining at the demolition. Not being *in situ* they were of little use in the identification of the graves, for which Browne Willis's plan was our only guide. It was however known that Bishops Kellawe and De Insula were buried above the step, but which of them lay to the north and which to the south was a matter that the plan alone decided.

In addition to the freestone slabs was found a fragment of one of Frosterley marble, with a plain cross, and part of the first letter of a name, possibly that

<sup>a</sup> The plan was carefully made by Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

<sup>b</sup> Simeon's Hist. Eccl. Dunelm. lxii. Raine's Priory of Hexham, Pref. part i. p. lvi.

<sup>c</sup> Ealdhun's church was begun in 995 and completed about 999. It was called "The White Church," and Reginald of Durham briefly describes it (cap. xvi.) This church was pulled down, and the present cathedral begun in 1093 by Bishop Carileph. The present chapter-house (partly demolished 1795-7) was built by Bishop Geoffrey Rufus in 1133-40.



Scale,  $\frac{1}{8}$ " to 1 Foot.

C. Hodgson Fowler, Mans et del

C F Kell Lrh London.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL, PLAN OF EASTERN PART OF CHAPTER HOUSE, AS EXCAVATED IN 1874.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879.*





of Hugo de Puteaco, Philippus, Richardus de Marisco, Nicholaus de Farnham, or Robertus Stichell, but not any of those whose names begin with A, E, or W. The "Rites of Durham" gives the list of the bishops buried in the chapter-house, "as apperith by their names ingraven upon stone with the signe of the crosse ✚ annexed to every of there said names"—p. 47; and mentions further that the marble stones over Bishops De Insula and Kellawe had "ther immages in brass curioslie graven," so that the fragment cannot have belonged to either of these, but to a plain slab like the rest. The Cistercian regulation that grave-slabs in cloisters were to be level with the floor, so as not to be in the way of the feet of passers-by, represents the general arrangement where there was much passing about, and no where would raised tombs be more inconvenient than in a chapter-house.

The notes on the graves of the five bishops will now follow in chronological order, and the rest of the interments, which are all those of persons unknown, will next be described in the order in which they came to light. A few remarks on the objects discovered may fitly conclude the present account.

RALPH FLAMBARD. (No. 4.)<sup>a</sup> (1099—1128.)

At the spot indicated by Willis as the grave of Bishop Flambard was found a stone cist partly overlaid by the slab of Geoffrey Rufus. It was covered in by six rough top-stones united by mortar, and none of them had fallen in. Over it grew a large thorn-tree. The grave had been broken into at the head, and a great rough stone thrust into the hole. On raising two of the covering stones it was perceived that this stone had crushed the skull, and let in some earth. The next stone being removed we could see the body, retaining something like vestments, and all the principal bones *in situ*. The right arm was nearly stretched out at full length, the left rather more bent. On the right side, among the bones of the hand, was a gold ring with a sapphire, somewhat dark in hue.<sup>b</sup> By holding in a lantern we could see to the other end, the legs being distinctly visible, as also the bones of the feet in two heaps,



RING FOUND IN NO. 4.

<sup>a</sup> These numbers refer to the order in which the graves were examined.

<sup>b</sup> It may be noted that the ring of Flambard, who ruled the bishopric for twenty-nine years, is much worn in comparison with those of Rufus and De St. Barbara, the former of whom ruled for eight years only, and the latter for ten. It was the *signet* ring of Flambard which he offered at the High Altar in Durham Abbey, and which was long attached to his deed of restitution. See Surtees's *Durham*, i. xx., note.



and covering a great part of the body was a considerable quantity of some thin brown textile material. The long thread-like fibres of the thorn-tree root presented an extraordinary spectacle. On every side they had found their way through minute cracks and close joints, and were stretching themselves forth for life and nourishment among the dust of death.

“ Old *Thorn*, which graspest at the stones  
That name the under-lying dead,  
Thy fibres net the dreamless head ;  
Thy roots are wrapt about the bones.”

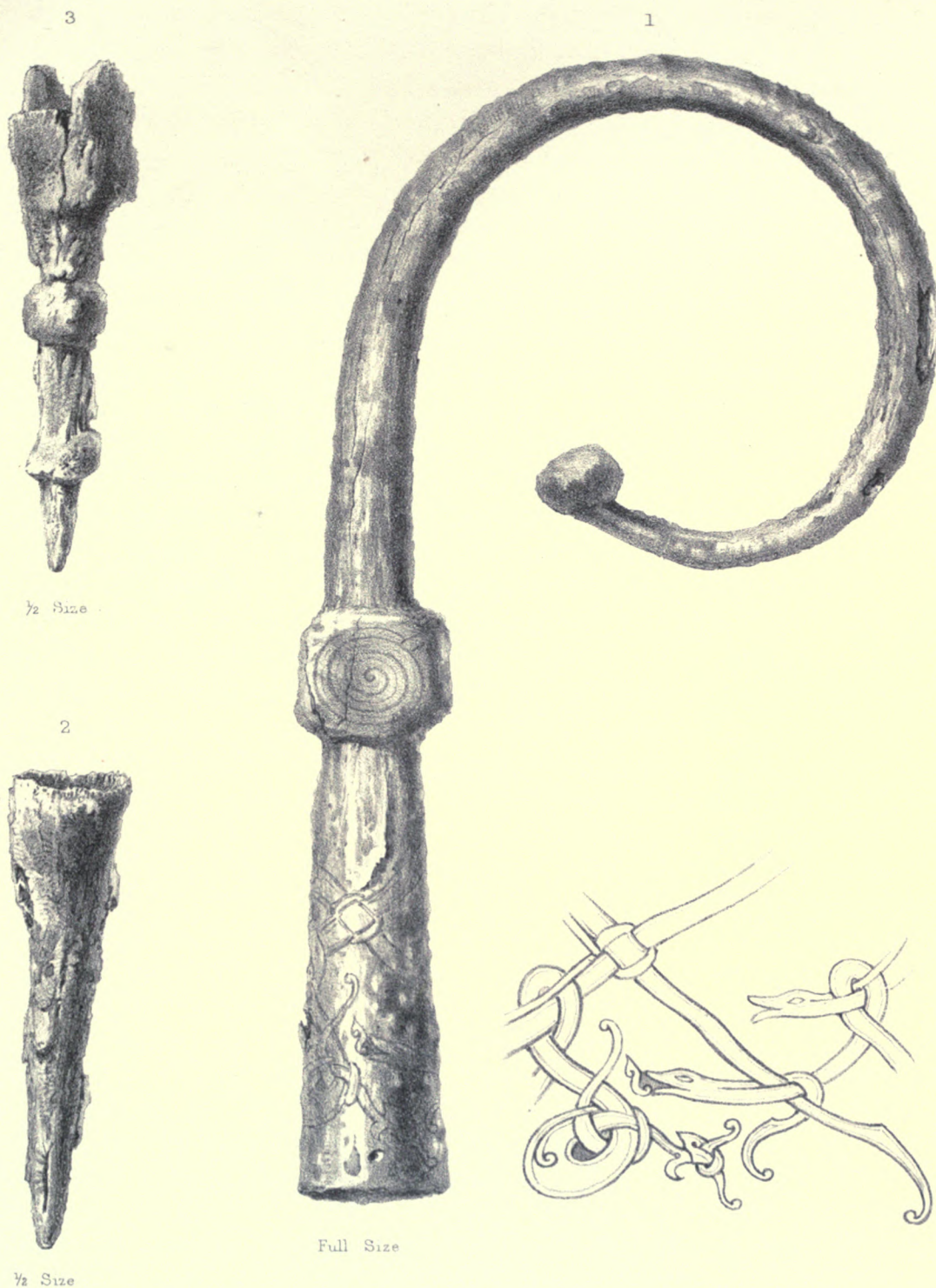
IN MEMORIAM, II.

The covering stones were now replaced, and nothing more was done at this grave till a few days after, when the thorn-tree which had stood in the way of its being entirely opened was taken away and all the covering-stones were removed. In clearing the earth from these, a few vertebræ and other bones were found scattered about in it. The grave being now open from end to end, it was observed and recorded on the spot that the body was placed on the back, undisturbed with the exception of the skull (see above). The orbits and basial and facial bones were all gone. Both hands were placed over the pelvis. The feet did not reach within a foot of the end of the grave. The pastoral staff (Pl. XXXI.) lay on the right side of the body, its head with the concavity of the crook upward, impacted between the skull and the recess in the head-piece of the grave.

Traces of the wooden shaft extended at intervals the whole length. The spiked ferule lay just outside the right foot. Between the right elbow and the spine were the crumbling remains of a pewter chalice. At the bottom of the coffin was a layer of wood charcoal broken up into small pieces.<sup>a</sup> There were no signs of there ever having been a wooden coffin. The middle part of the body had the following remains of vestments or graveclothes upon it. First, a superficial layer of very thin dark brown material in mere fragments,<sup>b</sup> then, immediately below that, and resting on the spinal column, a band of light brown closely-woven tissue, apparently silk, about 3¼ inches broad, turned over at the edges and hemmed.

<sup>a</sup> Durandus speaks of burning charcoal with incense being put into graves, and of the charcoal by reason of its enduring quality remaining as a testimony that the earth is no more to be put to common uses.—*Rationale Div. Off.* vii. 35.

<sup>b</sup> This was found on microscopical and chemical examination to be a resinous material, which had probably been spread on some fabric that had totally perished, to form a kind of cere-cloth. It appears to possess some of the peculiar properties of crude lac, from which shell-lac is made, and which, though an Oriental product, may have been well known in Europe in the twelfth century.



C.F. Kell, Lith. London.

CROSIER HEAD AND FERULES, FOUND ON THE SITE OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE, DURHAM.





This band was reflected at the top, over a considerable quantity of very delicate silk, finer in the thread, and less close in texture. The band came down in front as far as the pelvis, and may have formed the centre of a chasuble. Flambard's seal shows such a band as if behind this vestment (Surtees's *Durham*, plate i. of seals). It is evident from the seals and other representations of the period, that chasubles were then made of exceedingly thin and flowing materials. Here was also found a small piece of cord, knotted at the end, and covered with some tarnished metallic wrapping.

In the folds of the vestments were noticed two or three dried-up flies, which, no doubt, had been there ever since the interment. There was a mass of chocolate-brown substance which was perforated as if by larvæ, and considerable portions of the short hair of the body were also observed.

The following measurements and observations were afterwards taken by Professor Rolleston, to whom we are indebted for the notes of all the skulls and other bones, carefully taken on the spot by himself.

Skull:—extreme length 7·2; extreme breadth 6·3; cephalic index 87; typically brachy-cephalic; circumference 21·6; vertical height (approximate), 5·9. Forehead sloping, as is usual in the skulls of strong men. The highest point in vertical contour is posterior to coronal suture. Back of the head vertical, and great occipital protuberance. Occipital spine greatly developed. All the outlines of the head well filled out. Sutures obliterated internally. The frontal sinuses are moderately developed. Fragment of lower jaw powerful.

Length of femur 19 inches, tibia 14·7, height 5 ft. 9 in.

On examining the bottom of this grave it was found that under the charcoal above-mentioned was a thin layer of lime or mortar, then a layer of common earth about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick, then mortar, then rough stones laid in mortar. At the extreme foot of the grave, filling up its south-east angle, and extending into the soil under and beyond the stone sides, was a heap of human bones in very good preservation, among which were two iron nails with traces of wood adhering to them. It appeared as if when this grave was made they had come upon a previous interment, and had huddled the bones together at the foot of the new grave. There were three or four ribs, a left scapula of large size, and having in its thinnest part a circular hole about  $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch diameter, around which the bone looked altered in structure as if the perforation had been made during life; the right scapula, an atlas and axis, and other vertebræ, &c. impacted, and under the mortar and stones which formed the bottom of the grave. The skull and other bones were afterwards found. (See after, Nos. 10 and 23.)



## GEOFFREY RUFUS. (No. 5.) (1133—1140.)

In the place indicated by Willis was found a stone coffin full of earth, and destitute of covering-stones. The lower part of it was overlaid by the slab of Ralph Flambard. This having been removed the earth and stones were carefully taken out, and the skull was found in an almost perfect condition in its proper



RING FOUND IN NO. 5.

recess. By following the line of the right arm, a gold ring with a fine oval sapphire was found among the bones of the hand, just inside the upper part of the femur. The carpal bones were resting on the brim of the pelvis. The whole of the earth having been removed in the course of the following day, the coffin was seen to contain a skeleton, in its main features entire. The ribs, the patellæ, the fibulæ, all save the malleoli, the humeri in their upper thirds, and the scapulæ and clavicles, had however almost entirely crumbled to dust. The lower jaw had fallen down so that its symphysis rested on the cervical vertebræ, and the atlas and axis were conspicuous above and behind it, also the left styloid process. There were

only two or three teeth left in each jaw. The upper, an incisor, canine, and bicuspid, all together, quite sound and not much worn. The alveoli in the lower jaw were almost entirely absorbed. On the left side of the dorsal vertebræ, and adhering to them, was the sternum, quite perfect, and showing the marks of the costal cartilages very distinctly.

The left arm was lying straight down, the hand pronated, with the thumb under the hip-joint. The right arm lay with the hand over the pelvis, as above-mentioned.

A great quantity of tree-root was densely matted all about the feet and ankles.

Some grey semi-metallic dust, probably the remains of a pewter chalice, was found, part of it on the left side of the neck, and more near the lumbar vertebræ on the same side. In immediate contact with the bottom of the coffin was a dark brown substance resembling decayed leather. Most of what remained was lying under the shoulders, and there were particles of gold thread, not nearly so much however as was found in the grave of William de St. Barbara. Close by the outside of the right foot and partly under it was the iron ferule of a pastoral staff. An unusually large drain-hole was found, away from the centre of the coffin, just inside the left hip-joint; diameter  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

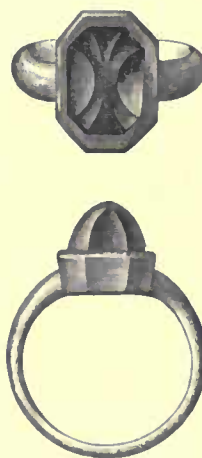
*Dimensions, &c.*—Skull:—extreme length 7 inches; extreme breadth 6; cephalic index (approximate) 86; absolute height 5.1; interangular of lower jaw 4.55; width of jaw 4.6.

The skull shows senile thickening and obliteration of sutures, but there is no pushing inward of the occipital condyles. Teeth encrusted with tartar. All the molars wanting in the upper jaw, and all the teeth save two or three in the lower. Zygomatic breadth 5.6, least frontal 4. Skull consequently phænozygous. A line drawn across the base of the skull from one ear opening to the other cuts the occipital foramen. The meningeal arteries have had their grooves converted into canals. The base of the skull is tumid in the region of the cerebellum. Length of femur 18.7; tibia 14.2. Stature 5 ft. 8 in. The remains, as in the case of Flambard, are those of a powerful old man.

WILLIAM DE ST. BARBARA. (No. 3). (1143—1153.)

Midway between the cist and coffin now described, and in contact with both, was a coffin full of earth and stones, with here and there a fragment of bone; in the recess for the head were considerable portions of the skull. As the coffin was partly overlaid by the slab which had originally been over it, this was now removed, a plaster cast being first taken of the inscription in the shattered portion of it; the earth and stones having been carefully taken out, it was found that the bones of the legs and feet were still in position, the latter crushed up against the end of the coffin. Under all was a layer of pulverulent brown matter, which appeared to be decayed leather,<sup>a</sup> and there were traces of some textile fabric overlying it. In this, from the shoulders to the upper part of the legs, were considerable remains of gold tissue, most plentiful between the thighs, as if it had been the orphrey of a chasuble. The fibres of the root of the thorn-tree were so matted in among these remains that it was impossible to obtain anything but fragments. While collecting these I suddenly came upon a fine gold ring with a large sapphire in it, the first that was discovered, on the right-hand side of the coffin, and about midway between head and feet, no doubt just where it had been left after the total decay of the bones of the hand.

The sides of the coffin had been partly cut away, as if after its completion it



RING FOUND IN NO. 3.

<sup>a</sup> It emitted a distinctly animal odour when heated.



had been found too narrow, so that where it was most cut they were only two inches thick instead of  $4\frac{1}{4}$ , their thickness where not cut away (see plan). The manner in which the feet were crammed in seemed to show that the coffin had been found too short as well as too narrow. De St. Barbara was probably a tall man. Geoffrey of Coldingham says, "statura et canitie venerabilis." (*Scriptores tres*, p. 3.) The teeth were much worn, and in the dorsal region of the spine there was exostosis, as so frequently occurs in aged skeletons. Unfortunately no note could be taken of the length of the tibiæ, as they were quite perished in their upper thirds. The coffin is in the exact spot indicated in Willis's plan as that of De St. Barbara's interment.

ROBERT HALIELAND OR DE INSULA. (No. 1.) (1274—1283.)

As has been already mentioned, the original excavation in the apse was extended westward to the place where Browne Willis's plan shows the slab of Robert de Insula, with matrices of brasses, and that of Richard de Kellawe. As stated in the "Rites of Durham," "Both thes ly buried before the bushop's seat under two marble stones, with ther immages in brasse curiouslie graven," to which Bishop Cosin's copy adds, "but now defaced." De Insula's grave was first found, but the slab was gone, and the covering-stones that had intervened between it and the grave had partly fallen in. The broken pieces, with the earth that had gone in with them, were carefully removed, and the grave was then found to be constructed of stones, and to be 7 ft. 5 in. long by 2 ft. 1 in. across at the head or west end, 1 ft. 9 in. at the foot, and 1 ft. 7 in. deep. The part which had fallen in was that where the legs and feet had been, and of these no traces were found. The upper portion of the grave, however, which had not fallen in, remained intact, and here the first object which met the eye was a dark brown thick skin in which the body had been sewn up, apparently a tanned ox-hide, still comparatively sound and showing the stitch-holes. As the thread had perished the seam had come open and exposed the contents. Adhering to the leather outside were shreds of a fine woven tissue, and lying round about it were the broken and decayed fragments of a wooden coffin, with two or three large iron nails. Inside the leather were several thicknesses of some serge-like fabric, and in the place where the head had been was a heap of white dust. Upon this lay a considerable mass of coarse red hair, showing that the bishop could not have been a very old man when he died. I have not been able to find any mention of his precise age, but Graystones has an amusing anecdote from which we may perhaps draw an inference on the point. It shows at any rate that his mother

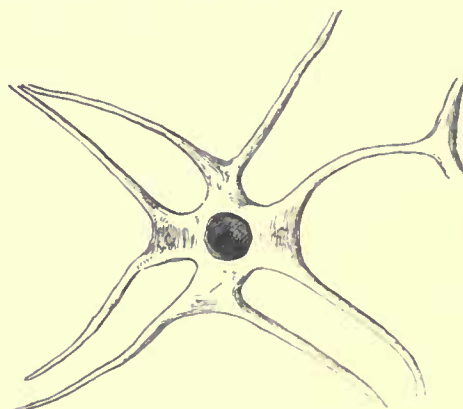
was in a vigorous condition of mind and body some time after his elevation to the bishopric. (*Scriptores tres*, Surtees Soc. vol. 9, p. 57.)

The stone grave was very neatly constructed, and the stones had mason's marks on them, which unfortunately were not copied. At the head and along the sides were dark marks as if the wood coffin had come to pieces and fallen outwards, and the wood had for some time rested against the stone. It appeared that the coffin had been of the coped form, somewhat higher at the head.

The bones had all fallen to dust.

RICHARD DE KELLawe. (No. 2.) (1311—1316.)

Working to the north of De Insula in order to look for the grave of Kellawe,<sup>a</sup> we found it at a short distance, fallen in like No. 1, but not so much, and also, like it, bereft of its top slab. The stones and earth being removed, it proved to be a stone coffin, with a place for the head, and in the usual spot a cruciform drain, with channels running into it as shown in the sketch.



DRAIN-HOLE IN COFFIN.

The skull was almost perfect, and had fallen over so as to have the base uppermost. The moment it was moved, all the basal bones and those of the face fell into the cavity of the cranium in a fragmentary condition, mixed with a sort of efflorescence of phosphate of lime.

The bones of the thighs and legs were quite perfect, as were the larger bones of the feet, which lay in two distinct heaps, only the middle portion of this grave having fallen in.

So far as could be judged from the fragmentary condition of the arms, they had been crossed on the chest. By each hip was an iron ring about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch diam. Near the feet on the left side a portion of the quite plain wooden shaft of a crosier retained its form, and by the left shoulder lay portions probably of the same, much decayed, and about half an inch thick. Other fragments near the head may have

<sup>a</sup> "Sepultus est in capitulo Dunelmensi coram sede episcopali, et lapide marmoreo coopertus."—Graystones, P. 37, *Scriptores tres*, p. 98.



been parts of a wooden crosier-top. Adhering to the right patella and covering the upper part of the tibia and lower part of the femur was a piece of serge-like fabric similar to that in De Insula's grave. There were no traces of leather or of a wooden coffin, though the iron rings seemed to show that the latter had existed.

*Dimensions* :—Skull; Extreme length 7·25.; extreme breadth 6·1; cephalic index 84; vertical height 5·8; extreme frontal width 5·1; least 3·9; sloping forehead; back of head vertical; less tumidity of cerebellar region than in the older skulls, but the outlines of the skull elsewhere well filled out. Adhering to the bone in the region of the eyebrows was some light yellow hair, and in other parts of the head hair of a lighter colour, somewhat gray. There were two fragments of the lower jaw, which showed no signs of atrophy. The sagittal suture was largely obliterated. Length of femur 18·3; tibia 13·5. Stature 5 ft. 6 in.

#### INTERMENTS OF PERSONS UNKNOWN.

##### No. 6.

It has been mentioned above, p. 2, that there were evident indications of the Chapter-house having been built on ground full of interments. It is inconceivable that so many persons, of all ages and both sexes, can have been buried in the Chapter-house. Moreover, the prevailing type of skull was long-headed, indicating an Anglian, and not a Norman or later-English, race of people; the skulls of the bishops, on the other hand, were round-headed. Now, Symeon tells us how the spot with which we are now concerned was made habitable.\* He describes a place, which Ealdhun found "*natura munitum, sed non facile habitabilem—quoniam densissima undique silva totum occupaverat. Tantum in medio planicies erat non grandis, quam arando et seminando excolere consueverant.*" No indications of British or Roman occupation have ever been met with here, though there was a Roman camp at "Maiden Castle Hill," about a mile to the east, portions of which may still be traced. Had British or Roman remains been found on Dunholme, a place so well fortified by nature as to invite human occupation, we might suppose that it had long been abandoned when Ealdhun came with the body of St. Cuthbert. We are, however, uncertain whether the occupation by Ealdhun was the first or not. But in any case there was gathered around the new church a considerable population before many years had passed; and between 995, when

\* Hist. Eccl. Dunelm. cap. xxxvii.

Ealdhun came, and 1081, when Bishop William of St. Carileph introduced the Benedictine monks, there was abundance of opportunity for a large number of interments to take place in the cemetery attached to the then secular church, interments too of ordinary families, as well as those of the canons, who with their wives and children were driven out by the first Norman bishop, that he might put the monks in their place, much as the monks were in their turn driven out by Henry VIII., and married canons again introduced.

The interments now to be described mostly belong, in all probability, to this period of about eighty-six years. But those which were found in stone graves or coffins not far below the floor may have been buried in the chapter-house as having been benefactors to the church.

In an ordinary grave, 1 ft. 8 in. by 8 in. and 2 ft. 6 in. from Chapter-room wall,<sup>a</sup> were found *in situ* the bones of a child under six months old lying on the right side, east and west, slightly contracted, length about 1 ft. 6 in. The bones of the arm were down on the hip. The skeleton was nearly perfect except the feet. The grave was not lined with anything, but its dimensions and form could easily be seen by the different appearance of the disturbed soil.

#### No. 7.

In an ordinary grave. Distance from Chapter-room wall, 5 ft. 2 in. Distance from No. 5, 1 ft. 2 in. Depth from pavement level, 3 ft. 6 in. Skull almost perfect. Wisdom teeth not through. Epiphyses not united. Head lying forward on chest. Body lying lower than head. Radius and ulna of both arms perfect, and coming down in front of the pelvis. Bones of hands fallen down below pelvis. Femur 15½ in. Tibia 12 in. Width of pelvis 10½ in. Os sacrum 3⅞ in. Width between acetabula of pelvis 3½ in. Impressiones digitatæ on interior of frontal bone. Stature 4 ft. 8 in. Child of about 14.

#### No. 8.

A rough stone coffin, about half-a-yard further south, and 16 inches below the pavement level; length of cover 6 ft. 3 in.; width 2 ft. at head and 1 ft. 8 in. at foot; thickness 6 in. When the cover was lifted up it disclosed a body undisturbed. Length of coffin 5 ft. 10 in. outside and 5 ft. 4 in. inside; inside width 1 ft. 6 in. at head and 10 in. at foot, where it was rounded in a somewhat unusual way; place hollowed out for head. The following notes describe the condition in

<sup>a</sup> The modern east wall of the remaining portion of the Chapter-house.



which the body was found. Lying on back, length 4 ft. 5 in.; width of pelvis 10 in.; epiphyses not united; hair braided and very fine, of a reddish-brown colour. A split pin of hazel like a clothes-peg was lying on the breast, with the split opening directed upwards. The hands upon the thighs. Within the coffin were two pieces of stone, one 6 inches long near the right shoulder, the other, quite small, under the right axilla. Lying upon the pelvis and all the length of the body was some coarse and much decayed brown serge, apparently woollen. In the centre of the coffin a small square drain about 1 in. diameter. Bones very small and perfect, but brittle, the long bones splitting up into fibrous-looking fragments under the exposure to the air. Much saline matter about the breast. The lid of the coffin had been cemented on, and was longer than necessary. It came into four pieces when removed. The photograph was taken in the afternoon of July 8th, about four hours after the opening of the coffin, but the body had even then fallen away a good deal.

When Professor Rolleston and I examined it together a few days after, we found a posterior molar milk-tooth, showing that the skeleton belonged to a child under twelve years of age. There were incisor teeth of the second set, not at all worn, and of very large size, indicating probably the male sex. The face was somewhat prognathous in character.

#### No. 9.

In undisturbed ground, 5 ft. 1 in. below pavement level. Skull perfect; there was a little gold thread upon it and in the earth around. Spine very crooked. Hands clasped in front of pelvis. Three iron nails, and wood in connection with them, were found near the feet. Length of femur 17·2 in. Tibia 13·1. Stature five feet two to three inches. Neck of femur short and horizontal. Humeri feeble. The measurements, &c. of the skull were: Extreme length 7·3; extreme breadth 5·45; cephalic index 74; least frontal width 3·8; greatest 4·8; circumference 25; vertical height 5·4; frontal arc 4·3; parietal arc 4·3; occipital arc 4·9; forehead vertical; highest part of longitudinal arc posterior to coronal suture; posterior part of parietal bone sloping, parieto-occipital slope oblique; vertical aspect an elongated oval contour; considerable obliteration of sutures. A low-lying skull with rounded outlines in occipital aspect; the lower jaw has nine teeth left; the front incisors are gone and the sockets filled up; jaw feeble. Female, aged.

#### No. 10.

At the foot of No. 4 (Flambard) were found a remarkably perfect skull,

two tibiae, pelvis, and other bones, belonging to the same skeleton as those mentioned in connection with No. 4 (p. 389). Measurements, &c. of skull: extreme length 7.4; extreme breadth 5.8; cephalic index 7.6; actual height 5.2; vertical height 5.5; height of orbit 1.6; width of orbit 1.6; basilar angle 30; frontal arc 4.7; parietal arc 4.6; occipital arc 4.9; circumference 21.2. A line from one ear to the other is quite in front of the occipital foramen. Low forehead; depression on left side of frontal bone, posterior to which skull rises very much; the whole back of the head tumid and globose; least frontal width 3.7; greatest 4.9; interangular diameter of lower jaw 4.2; depth of jaw 1.2; width 1.4. Traces of cured hare-lip. Upper wisdom teeth not evolved, and no trace of lower ones. Sex doubtful. Tibiae lying east and west.

## No. 11.

In an ordinary grave, 3 ft. 5 in. below the pavement level, and 2 ft. 6½ in. from the Chapter-room wall, north of and close to No. 4. Lower jaw in good preservation, but showing exostotic deposits on inside. Teeth perfect on one side, rather gone on the other. Length of femur 18.5 in. very strong but diseased. Tibia 14 in. Stature 5 ft. 7 in. Body completely twisted. Right hand slightly under thigh, left lying over hip. Bony outgrowth on lumbar vertebrae, as in bed-ridden cases. Clavicle very powerful, also pelvis. First sacral vertebra fused with second, but second separated by maceration from third. Patellae and atlas found *in situ*. The body had been laid in undisturbed ground. There was a small slab behind the head, and there were five stones set on edge down the right side. Strong man in middle period of life.

## No. 12.

Flags laid at bottom of grave. Head lying on right side, on a rough unwrought pillow-stone, between which and the skull some animal matter was still left. A fibrous substance like bark lay upon lower end of right femur. Much efflorescence about the head in the shape of minute crystals. Hands extended upon hips. Teeth all *in situ*, but greatly and horizontally worn; interangular diameter of lower jaw 4; depth of jaw 1.25; width 1.5; width of orbit 1.6; height 1.4; least frontal width 4; width of face 5; exostosis on lumbar vertebra. The bodies of the dorsal vertebrae entirely decayed. Femur 18 in. Stature 5 ft. 5 in.

## No. 13.

Lying at full length eastward and westward, infant about seven months old, 2 ft. 6 in. below floor-level. Charcoal in grave, also a nail of coffin.



## No. 14.

North of No. 4. Grave about 1 ft. below level of natural soil. Full-grown body, with charcoal. Measurements, &c.: Skull, extreme length 7.15; extreme breadth 5.3; cephalic index 74; extreme width of forehead 4.5; minimum width 3.4; glabello-inial length 6.8; teeth much encrusted with tartar, but none lost during life; typically low-lying dolicho-cephalic skull; point of maximum width below parietal tuberosities, and in their meridian; *per contra*, the denticulations in the sagittal suture are complex. Looked at from behind, the roof of the skull slopes away gradually from the mesial line, where, however, there is no carina. In the vertical view the contour is that of an elongated oval, the skull tapering. Length of femur 15 in. Height 4 ft. 6 in. Tibiæ platynemic. Probably a man above 30 years old.

## No. 15 (A, B, C).

North of the square block of old foundation near the foot of No. 4 were found three disturbed bodies: (A) youth between 12 and 18, wisdom-teeth not through, and sphenio-occipital suture patent; (B) a full-grown person; (C) another.

## No. 16.

Some remains of a wooden coffin. Depth 5 ft. 8 in. below pavement level, 3 ft. 7 in. below natural surface. In front of side of head a stone, and another at feet. Body (a male) lying on right side, head to west. Length 5 ft. 7 in. Hands down by hips. Both femurs crushed flat. Left arm bent across. Remains of decayed cloth. The second, third, and fourth cervical, and some dorsal, vertebræ were ankylosed, as was the sacro-iliac synchondrosis. Thyroid ossified, and there was much more abnormal ossification. No charcoal. Skull:—extreme length 7.9; extreme breadth 5.7; cephalic index 72; least frontal width 5; greatest 5.8; absolute height 5.6; basilar angle 28; width of jaw 1.4; depth 1.1; circumference 21.8; frontal arc 5.2; parietal arc 5.4; occipital arc 5.2; inter-angular 4.15; height of orbit 1.5; depth 1.6. 39 parts out of 79 anterior to ear. Orthognathous; dolichocephalic; well-filled skull of strong man past middle period of life. Large supraciliary ridges; from which the frontal and parietals slope equably to the occipital squama, which is set on in the fashion characteristic of this type of skull. Viewed in the vertical aspect, the two supraciliaries and the zygomatic arches all come into view. The contour is

an elongated oval in the same view. Viewed from behind, the skull slopes away from the middle line to the region of the parietal tuberosities, which are little marked. A line from one auditory foramen to another intersects the occipital foramen. There is a great senile down-growth of the condyles. The lower jaw is well developed, with a square angle. The skull is very similar to a remarkable one found in a barrow at Dinnington, Yorkshire, described by Dr. Rolleston.<sup>a</sup>

## No. 17.

Due east of old foundation. A body with wood in relation with the head, and nails extending all down the side, with large round heads, as elsewhere, indicating a coffin. Exostoses in upper jaw. Dolicho-cephalic. Whole set of teeth perfect. Depth of lower jaw 1·5; width 1·3.; interangular diameter 3·7. Patellæ *in situ*. Length of femur 17·9. Tibia 13·3. Height 5 ft. 3 in. Length of grave 5 ft. 4 in. Remains of an infant at feet. Measurements of skull: extreme length 7·7; extreme breadth 5·4; cephalic index 74. Dolicho-cephalic. Occipital squamæ set on in faceted fashion. Large frontal sinuses. Moderate supraorbital foramina. Teeth much and horizontally worn. Sutures obliterated. Exostosis of right side of upper jaw. Deep elliptical palate. Female? Aged.

## No. 18.

The infant just mentioned, 6 in. from natural surface. Remains of coffin mixed up with bones. Nails similar to those last mentioned.

## No. 19.

Child, 3 ft. from No. 8. Dolicho-cephalic skull with vertical forehead. About 9 months old. Skeleton extended.

## No. 20.

In an ordinary grave west of old foundation, containing charcoal. Body laid on right side, knees crossed, patellæ present. Skull, when placed on plane surface, rests on teeth and occipital condyles. All the teeth present at time of death, except possibly one; they are much and horizontally worn. Length of femur 19·5. Stature 5 ft. 11 in. Dolicho-cephalic skull. Down growth of condyles, as often in aged skulls. Measurements of skull: extreme length 7·6; extreme breadth 5·6; cephalic index 74; basilar angle 33; vertical height 6·1; absolute height 5·8. Strong but aged male.

<sup>a</sup> Rolleston, *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, 1868, vol. iii. p. 254. *British Barrows*, p. 706. *Archæologia*, vol. xlii. p. 171.



## No. 21.

Upon right side, with acromion in contact with back of head. Left hand on hip, right hand extended down the side. Peculiar coffin-clamps near skeleton and nails along whole length. Length of femur 19·9, of humerus 13·5. Height 5 ft. 9 in. Measurements of skull: extreme length 7·5; extreme breadth 5·9; cephalic index 78; least frontal width 4; greatest frontal width 5; actual height 5·1; vertical height 5·7; basilar angle 21; width of jaw 4·4. Male.

## No. 22.

A disturbed interment, with a little lime, also nails. Femur and tibia put with distal ends to west. Length of femur 19·5. Stature 5 ft. 11 in. Male probably.

## No. 23.

South of the old foundation were found bones in a heap, and shreds of gold thread, particularly in connection with the head. Large piece of damask with gold thread, like a stole. Length of femur 18·0. Stature 5 ft. 5 in. Strong, heavy, muscular ridges, well marked. The pelvis and some other bones had been broken before being replaced. The lower jaw (broken) was stained with copper on the right side; only three teeth had remained at the time of death. Angle of lower jaw square and flanged outwards, as that of a powerful man. The head much distorted; a bone of a sheep had found its way into the interior of it. The forehead seemed to have been square, and vertical. Head similar in contour to those of Flambard and Rufus.

The right mastoid process copper-stained. Tibiæ (both broken) with textile fabric in connection, copper-stained in middle. Measurements of distorted skull: extreme length 7·5; glabello-inial 7·1; extreme breadth (approximate) 5·8; cephalic index 77. Upper jaw elliptical. Parietal dip sharp, and squama set on in plane posterior to that occupied by the posterior part of the parietal.

It is evident from Browne Willis's plan that the graves of Bishops Pudsey and De Pictavia were destroyed when the new Chapter-room wall was built. These bones appear to have come out of one of them, for the gold thread and remains of damask orphreys, &c. which were found with them, afford a strong indication that they belonged to a bishop; and the copper-staining on the right side, as by a copper-gilt crosier, make this all but absolutely certain. No remains of the crosier itself were found, still less any rings. They were doubtless disposed of in some way by the workmen in 1795.

## No. 24.

Interment west of old foundation. Three nails at the head and four at hips. Laid straight on back. Arms extended. Finger-bones overlying head of femur. Patellæ *in situ*. 5 ft. 8 in. from os calcis to vertex. Head turned a little to right. Eminently dolicho-cephalic in contour as in measurement. Extreme length 7·7; extreme breadth 5·7; cephalic index 76; basilar angle 22; absolute height 5·2; vertical height 5·75; height of orbit 1·4, width 1·6. Glabella-inial length 7·4. Width of jaw 1·3, height 1·2. All teeth present in both jaws. An equable slope of longitudinal arc. The skull, when placed on a horizontal surface, rests on teeth and cerebellar region. Occipital squama stuck on like a facet beyond occipital slope. Least frontal width 5·1; greatest 5·8; circumference 21; basiscranial axis 4·2; nasal axis 3·6; alveolar axis 3·8. Pterygoids vertical. Sutures mostly obliterated. Large inter-parietal in apex of lambdoid. Large occipital spine. Probably male.

## No. 25.

South-east of No. 5. Charcoal. Hands over pelvis. Patellæ *in situ*.

Skull:—extreme length 7·5; extreme breadth 5·3; cephalic index 72; circumference 20·5; basilar angle 14; width of orbit 1·7; height 1·55; least frontal width 3·8; greatest 4·5; vertical height 6; absolute height 5·2; parietal arc 5·2; occipital arc 5·1; depth of jaw 1·4; width 1·25.

A wisdom-tooth left in right side of upper and another in left side of under jaw. Powerful lower jaw. Rounded angles. Skull drops away from middle line of roof. Viewed from behind the pentagon has elongated laterals; viewed from above it is phænozygous, and elongated oval, tapering rapidly from plane of parietal tuberosities. Axis 4·1; nasal axis 3·6; alveolar axis 3·7. Aged male.

## No. 26.

South of 24. With charcoal. Laid partly on right side, 1 ft. 5 in. below natural surface, half turned over, the lower part of the back looking directly upward, as also the posterior aspect of the left femur. Left arm lying by south side of interment. Right hip-bone lying horizontally. Patellæ *in situ*. Buried carelessly. Skull in fragments, but apparently less dolicho-cephalic than the others. Wisdom-teeth very little worn in either jaw; one not developed above. Length of femur 18·35, exceedingly strong. Humerus also strong. Stature 5 ft. 6 in. Strong male of about 30 years of age.



## No. 27 (A, B, C, D).

Remains of four disturbed bodies laid just upon the natural surface. One a male, with charcoal. Immediately above them was a clear line such as would be made in process of building by men treading with their feet upon the droppings of the lime.

(A) Dolicho-cephalic, past middle-age, male.

(B) Young man: head small and round, globular, not powerful, brachy-cephalic; vertical occipital squama.

(C) Extreme length 7·2; extreme breadth 5·5; cephalic index 78; vertical height (approximate) 5·5; absolute height 5·1. Large frontal sinuses. Sloping forehead. Faceted occiput. Frontal arc 4·9. An oval egg-shaped excavation on right of parietal bone, such as might be made by a tumour or cut. Parietal arc 5. Occipital 4·4. Altogether a skull of the Borris type,<sup>a</sup> being an old skull. Powerful lower jaw, without any wisdom-teeth. All the other teeth present in both jaws. A low-lying dolicho-cephalic skull of an aged male subject. Near this body was found an iron spear-head.

(D) Skull in fragments, dolicho-cephalic, and of a young man.

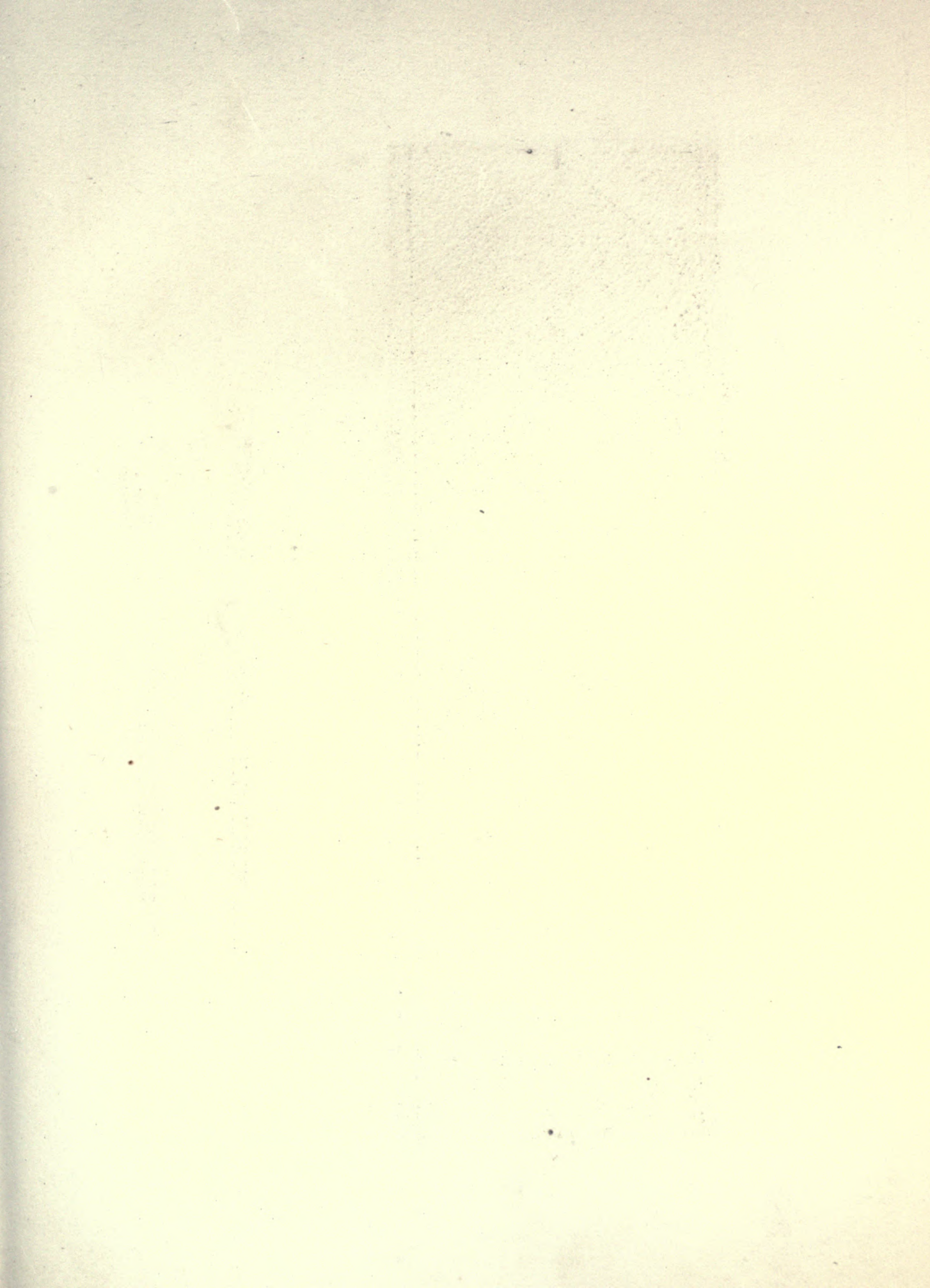
## CONCLUSION.

It now remains for me briefly to notice two or three special matters, and to describe the principal objects found with the human remains.

1. *Earlier Interments*.—From the number of interments of children and of women on the site of the Chapter-house it appears that there had been a cemetery on the spot. This may possibly have been altogether previous to the ecclesiastical occupation, but as the undisturbed bodies lay east and west this is scarcely likely, for there is no account of any church until St. Cuthbert's body rested there. It seems much more likely that the bodies are chiefly those of the wives and families of the secular clergy connected with the church previous to their expulsion by Bishop William de St. Carileph. (See above, pp. 386, 395).

2. *Foundations and Floor*.—These will be sufficiently understood from the plan. It will be seen how buttresses of great projection were set against their shallow Norman predecessors, probably in consequence of some ominous cracks, notwithstanding what Carter says of the state of the building when he made his

<sup>a</sup> Huxley, *Prehistoric remains of Caithness*, p. 125, fig. 60, 61.







PORTIONS OF VESTMENTS. DURHAM.  
*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1879.*



drawings.<sup>a</sup> The floor, the steps to the apse, and a portion of foundation believed to have belonged to an earlier building, are mentioned above.

3. *Stone Coffins*.—That of William de St. Barbara was at first too small for the body (p. 392), and Orderic tells of a like difficulty at the burial of William the Conqueror (Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 717). Stone coffins were probably kept ready made, as Roman sarcophagi appear to have been.

4. *Vestments*.—The most remarkable fragments were lying loose in the soil, and are wonderfully preserved. They were probably cast out of the graves of Pudsey and Pictavia, which were broken into in 1795 for the foundation of the new Chapter-room wall. They appear to be silk, woven into twelfth-century patterns, and enriched with gold thread, made by wrapping a long strip of gold spirally round a silk thread, as is well seen under the microscope. Three of these specimens are represented in Plate XXXII. Similar remains of gold tissue were found in the graves of De St. Barbara and of Rufus, but not in any of the other three. The silk found with Flambard was of a very light and thin kind, and presented no patterns.

Some fragments with still more elaborate patterns, which came from the grave of Bp. de St. Carileph, opened in 1795,<sup>b</sup> have been preserved, together with the sole of one and the upper-leather of another plain shoe from the same grave.

5. *Crosiers*.—Those discovered in the graves of Flambard and Rufus were found on the right side, and the copper stains on the bones of another bishop (p. 16) shewed that his crosier had been also on the right side. In the later instance of Bishop Kellawe, the staff was on the left, as borne during life.

The crosier in the grave of Flambard had an iron crook plated with silver, and a plain iron spike (Plate XXXI. fig. 1, 2). The one in Rufus's grave had an iron spike with two spherical projections (Plate XXXI. fig. 3); the head may have been of some perishable material, or may have been taken out by the workmen in 1795. Nothing of Kellawe's was found save a portion of the plain wooden shaft, and this was on the left side.

6. *Rings*.—The three rings that were found were all on the right side as usual, but it could not be determined upon what finger they had been worn. None were found in the two later graves, which may have been despoiled in 1795, though if the workmen found some rings it is strange that they did not take the rest. It is scarcely likely that the bishops were buried without them. Those now before us are fine examples of episcopal rings, all of pure gold, set with sapphires of good colour; polished, but not cut; in one case the octahedral form of the original crystal has been preserved.

<sup>a</sup> See Gent. Mag. Dec. 1801.

<sup>b</sup> See Raine's Auckland Castle, p. 8, note.



At St. Cuthbert's College at Ushaw is preserved a ring with a large sapphire, stated to have been found in 1537 on the finger of St. Cuthbert. It is evidently an episcopal ring, but does not appear to be so ancient as those under consideration. If, therefore, found as stated, it must have been placed on the Saint's hand at a later period. An engraving of it is given in *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 66.

The subject of episcopal rings has been treated of by Edmund Waterton, Esq. F.S.A. in a memoir in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 224. It may be as well to notice briefly such as have been found in English tombs :—

In York Cathedral: 1. Gold ring with a ruby, in the tomb of Archbishop Sewall de Bovill, 1256–1258. 2. Gold ring with a ruby and with foliage on the shoulders, in the tomb of Archbishop William de Grenefeld, 1306–1315. 3. A ring, the stone of which is lost, inscribed within the hoop, “*honor et ioye*,” found in the tomb of Archbishop Bowet 1407–1423. These rings are engraved in Poole and Hugall's *Historical and Descriptive Guide to York Cathedral*, pl. xxiv.

In Chichester Cathedral: 1. Gold ring set with a Gnostic gem, supposed to have been found in the tomb of Bishop Seffrid 1125–1151. 2. A pointed ring set with a sapphire, found in a tomb, supposed to be that of Bishop Hilary, 1146–1169, but the ring is evidently of a later date. 3. Gold ring with a sapphire and four emeralds, found in the tomb of a Bishop unknown. These rings are engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 235.

At Winchester: 1. Gold ring set with a large sapphire of irregular form of the thirteenth century. 2. Gold ring set with a sapphire, which belonged to William de Wykeham, 1367–1404. 3. Gold ring with an intaglio of Minerva, found in the tomb of Bishop Stephen Gardiner 1531–1556. The first of these rings is engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx. p. 228.

In Hereford Cathedral: 1. Gold ring set with a sapphire, inscribed within “*en . bon . an.*,” found in the tomb of Bishop John Stanbery 1452–1474. 2. Gold ring set with a ruby and with tau cross on it, inscribed “*abe maria*,” found in the tomb of Bishop Richard Mayew 1504–1516. Both these rings are engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 249.

All these rings are preserved in the respective cathedrals in which they have been found.

XIX.—*Further Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Frilford, with Remarks on the Northern Limit of Anglo-Saxon Cremation in England.*  
By GEORGE ROLLESTON, Esq., M.D. F.R.S. F.S.A.

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Read June 17th, 1875.

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The first discovery in the cemetery at Frilford, subsequent to those already recorded in the *Archæologia*, XLII. p. 417-485, was made on March 22, 1869, when a leaden coffin was found, containing the bones of a young woman, with a toilet comb<sup>a</sup> at the right of the back of her head. This brings the number of leaden coffins found at Frilford up to five; one of them has already been figured in *Archæologia*, XLII. pl. xxiv. figures 7 and 8.

The second was the discovery of some fragments, which when fitted to the three fragments found in September, 1867, one of which is figured in the *Archæologia*, XLII. pl. xxiii. fig. 2, p. 423, make up the larger portion of what is often called a "holy-water vessel." The fragments of September, 1867, were to my eyes so distinctly Saxon that I had one of them figured, and the unexpected discovery of the remaining fragments enabled us to build up the urn shown in the annexed woodcut. I imagine that a plough's coulter had knocked out the first discovered fragments. No burnt bones were found quite close to the urn, but one fragment was found a little way off.<sup>b</sup>



ANGLO-SAXON URN, FRILFORD.  
Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.

This reconstructed vessel may be compared with vessels of somewhat similar

<sup>a</sup> For difference between toilet and other combs, see Anderson, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* June 10, 1872 p. 551, and woodcut *in loco*.

<sup>b</sup> The fragment, which with a triangular apex pointing upwards, occupies about the middle point in the front upper border of the urn figured above, is the same fragment which is figured with its apex pointing downwards, pl. xxiii. fig. 2, *Archæologia* XLII.



shape, and possibly similar purpose, found in Roman cemeteries, for instance, at Hardham, Sussex, as figured by Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins.<sup>a</sup> But urns more similar still have been found in many Teutonic cemeteries in England, as well as in France and Germany.

May 3, 1870.—An old Anglo-Saxon woman, with tweezers,<sup>b</sup> knife, metallic button, and small metallic ornament at head of humerus; large stones set by the sides of the graves as described in *Archæologia*, *l. c.* p. 438; but no nails. Depth of grave 2 feet 6 in., direction north-west to south-east. Abundance of charcoal in the grave; arms extended, *patellæ in situ*. *Tibiæ platycnemic*.

May 3, 1870.—Fragment giving about three-sevenths of the circumference of an Anglo-Saxon "holy-water vessel," or, perhaps, rather of a rudimentary representation of cremation urn; found near the bones of a young person. This vessel has the characteristic German angular projection round its body, the vandyking and the stamped pattern, &c., which we are familiar with in urns of larger size intended for the reception of burnt bones. Its small size, as well as



FRAGMENT OF SAXON URN, FRILFORD.  
SCALE  $\frac{1}{2}$  LINEAR.



SAXON URN, HASLINGFIELD.  
SCALE  $\frac{1}{2}$  LINEAR.

the fact that many such vessels have been found with buried bodies, and without any bony contents, show that this vessel cannot be considered as a cinerary vessel.<sup>c</sup> Cochet, in his *Arch. Ceramique*, p. 13, explains what he calls the mystery of the custom by the often quoted passage as to holy water from Durandus, vii. 35, 37.

<sup>a</sup> Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. xvi. p. 58.

<sup>b</sup> For figures of similar tweezers, see Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, Bd. ii. Hft. v. Taf. vi. where they are said to be found usually in men's graves, but sometimes in women's. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. ii. Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine* p. 219, pl. vii. fig. 35.

<sup>c</sup> For the greater fineness of workmanship in these smaller vessels, see Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 225; Roach Smith, *Collect. Antiq.* iv. 161-196.



I think this passage of little weight,<sup>a</sup> considering that Durandus lived in the thirteenth century. I incline to consider these vases, another example of which, from Haslingfield, is herewith figured, and which sometimes have been, as at Selzen, found to contain combs, shears, beads, fibulæ, flint and steel, and bronze rings, in fact everything that an ordinary cremation urn does contain except the bones, to be rudimentary representations of such cremation urns. Solemn occasions are tenacious of their symbols, and will hold to them or keep hold of them in miniature when they can no longer maintain them in full proportions. The wide range over which this diminutive representation of the larger Germanic urn has been found is another argument in favour of my view, which is based upon the recognition of an acknowledged tendency of the human mind as opposed to a view which can only appeal to a superstition of probably much more limited geographical range.<sup>b</sup> A somewhat similar vessel, both as to size and contour, from the Oberpfalz of Bavaria, may be found figured in "Die Sammlungen des Germanischen Museum," Nurnberg, 1868, p. 67.

May 23, 1870, iii.; May 23, 1870, vii.—Skeleton of old Romano-Briton lying

<sup>a</sup> It was thus as given by Cochet *l.c.*, "Corpus ponitur in speluncâ in quâ . . . ponitur aqua benedicta . . . Aqua benedicta ne dæmones qui multum eam timent ad corpus accedant: solent nanque deservire in corpora mortuorum, ut quod nequiverunt in vita saltem post mortem agant." Cochet's own words are, "Tous les cimetières mérovingiens et même carlovingiens que nous retrouvons . . . montrent toujours aux pieds du mort un vase vide dont les hommes d'aujourd'hui nous demandent le sens et le mystère. Nous croyons l'avoir trouvé dans la piété naïve et grossière, peut-être même matérielle et superstitieuse, de nos pères. Nous supposons donc, non sans fondement, qu'ils auront mis dans ce vase une eau sacrée conservatrice des obsessions et des possessions démoniaques si fréquentes chez les vivants et dont les morts ne leur paraissaient ni exempts ni affranchis.

<sup>b</sup> For the general literature, see Cochet, *Arch. Cer.* p. 14, *ibique citata*; Normandie Southeraine, pp. 199, 267; La Seine Inferieure, p. 530; Tombeau de Childeric, p. 391, *ibique citata*; Akerman, *Researches at Long Wittenham*, *Archæologia* xxxviii. pp. 342, 346, 352, (note) 330, 333, 342, 352; pl. xx. fig. 2; Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxii. where an urn eight inches high is described as containing tweezers, shears, comb, and knife, though it is not stated whether any bones were found in it or not. See also *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, 1856, *Introd.* p. xxvi. and Neville's *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 9, where vessels like these are said to have been very frequently, as regards the entire number (*viz.* three or four times out of twelve), found with infant skeletons, and to have been found either at head or foot, "though in the grave of an adult two small vases were found, one on each side of the former." This difference in placing seems to me to favour my view as above stated. The Selzen vases were, it is true, or nearly always, at the feet, and those found in the French interments of the same period, always, according to Cochet *l.c.* But at Hallstatt (see V. Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, 1868, p. 107) the position of these vases was most variable, "bald standen sie zur rechten, bald zur linken Seite des Skelettes, neben dem Kopfe, bei dem Hüften oder zur den Füßen, bei Verbrennungen in der Regel neben den Brandresten, selten auf denselben."



in grave such as are described in *Archæologia*, XLII. p. 422, undisturbed 18 inches below skeleton of a young Anglo-Saxon, æt. about 17, with umbo, spear, and knife.

May 23, 1870, iv. b.; May 23, 1870, iv. a.—Skeleton of old Romano-Briton, buried with coffin, lying from 4 feet 7 inches below skeleton of old Anglo-Saxon woman, lying in the contracted position without any relics, and, indeed, with disproof of any coffin, with two cruciform fibulæ, a shroud-pin, an iron ring, and a knife.<sup>a</sup>

In both cases the long axis of the upper grave formed more or less of a right angle with the long axis of the semi-oriented lower one. This shows that the burials could scarcely have been simultaneous; for the other conclusions which can be based upon the finding of two skeletons, verifiable as Saxon and Romano-British respectively in the relation specified, see my previous Memoir on Frilford, p. 423. It is worth while noticing that this Anglo-Saxon woman was 5 feet 5 inches in height, an instance of what is said to be usual, but what I have found to be by no means invariable, viz., an equality, or an approach to equality, in the stature of the German women and men;<sup>b</sup> next, that her skull was found five inches above her sternum, three stones having been placed underneath it; and, lastly, that the knees were at a higher level by several inches than either the ankles or the hips, besides being, as the statement of the body having been in the contracted position implies, out of the line of the long axis of the skeleton. These points are not ordinarily found in Christian burials. The arms were, however, crossed, and the hands folded inwards, as was often done in such interments; with which, again, on the other hand, this Anglo-Saxon burial appears to have contrasted in the body's being turned somewhat on to the left side, a point which, from the crushed condition of the skeleton, lying only about 2 feet from the surface of the ground, it was difficult to make out.

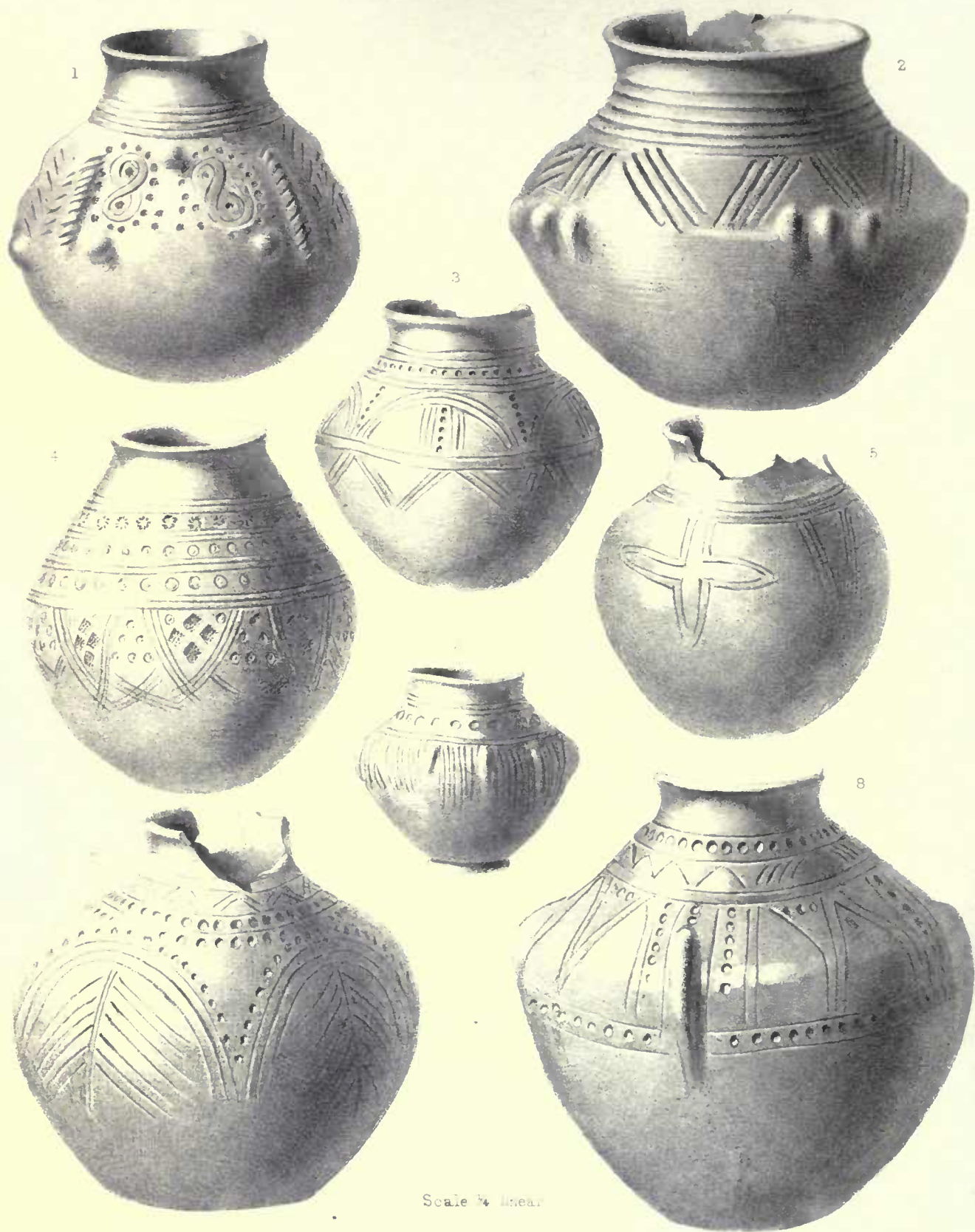
The question now arises, Were such non-oriented, contracted, shallowly interred, but relic-provided, bodies, the bodies of heathen or of Christianized Saxons? Mr. Kemble's dictum, "*Horæ Ferales*," p. 98, to the effect, that, "if there is any equivocation in the matter, it lies the other way; a few half-converted Christians may for a while have clung to the rite of burning, but no Pagan Saxon was buried

<sup>a</sup> These four skeletons, with the relics accompanying them, were presented to the Cornell University Ithaca, United States. A more detailed account of these objects than that given above may be found in the "Register" of that University for 1870-1871, pp. 50-54.

<sup>b</sup> For figure of a skeleton with skull similarly raised, see Grabfeld von Hallstatt, tab. iii fig. 4.







C F Kell Luth London

ANGLO - SAXON URNS FROM SANCTON, YORKSHIRE.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1879*

without it," is well known; but I am of opinion that this is one of the few mistakes which Mr. Kemble made. This one mistake of Mr. Kemble led him logically to a conclusion to be found at p. 230 of the same valuable work, the "*Horæ Ferales*," in a remark printed from the MSS. left behind him. Speaking of the rarity of Saxon urns in Scottish Museums, one from Buchan, to be seen in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society, being specified as the only one he knew of, Mr. Kemble remarks, "If they (Anglo-Saxon urns) should turn out to be very rare there (in Scotland not merely in Scottish museums), it would be evidence that no very important settlement was made there by the Saxons before their conversion to Christianity; a result which history seems to bear out. It was, in fact, Christianity which united the Saxons sufficiently to make them capable of acting *en masse* against their neighbours." Without raising any objection to the view which would assign the tendency to attack one's neighbours *en masse* to the religion which is ordinarily said, and by members of the Society of Friends believed, to teach lessons of peace, I would remark, that history does not seem to me to bear out Mr. Kemble's view, and that the finds in many unmistakeably Teutonic burials by interment seem to me to suggest the idea of heathendom by their shallowness, their want of orientation, their possession of secular relics, and by the frequency, especially in the north, with which the skeleton is discovered to be in the contracted position. In the case of Kent, the great salient facts recorded by the historians as to the conversion of Æthelberht are almost or even quite as indisputable as the facts of the "*Inventorium Sepulchrale*" as to the comparative rarity of cremation urns in that earliest to be founded of Saxon kingdoms. It is true, as Mr. Kemble himself has shown (*Horæ Ferales*, p. 91), that cremation urns are not entirely unknown in Teutonic cemeteries in Kent, but no one can doubt that this comparative rarity in that locality, when coupled with the facts that Kent was sufficiently powerful and thickly peopled for the Frankish King Charibert to give his daughter to the King of Kent, and that this King Æthelberht, and, by consequence, most of his Court, were nevertheless heathen, shows that a Saxon population, at all events when firmly established in a country, could give up cremation before taking up with the teaching of the missionaries.

The drawings which I lay before the meeting represent a number of urns from a Saxon cemetery at Sancton, co. York, a village a little south of Market Weighton, and the once much better known Goodmanham. These urns, which are represented in the accompanying Plate (Plate XXXIII.), and the acquisition of which I owe to the kindness of Charles Langdale, Esq., of Houghton Hall, mark, as I believe, and as



far as is known, the northern limit of cremation as practised to any considerable extent by Teutons in the north of England. But, little<sup>a</sup> as we do know of the history of the Conquest of Northumbria, we have some reason for believing that Æthilfrith was an unbeliever, and that by his great victory of Daegsastan in 603 a Pagan Saxondom was established under his rule from the Humber to the Forth. If Æthilfrith was a heathen, such no doubt were his followers; and, if the whole of Northumbria was heathen in 603, its two component sub-kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira were, it cannot be doubted, at least as pagan for the period little short of a couple of generations which intervened between the date of the battle of Daegsastan and that of the landing, before A.D. 547, of Ida the Flame-bearer at Flamborough Head. The bones, however, of the unsung heroes of these wars have not previously been found in cremation urns, at least in any abundance, though contracted Teutonic burials are common enough between the two latitudes mentioned.

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<sup>a</sup> For statements as to this littleness, see Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, p. 61; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. 25, 26.

XX.—*Notice of the Discovery of a Cist and its Contents at Moorhouse Farm, Brougham, Westmoreland. By Professor ROBERT HARKNESS, F.R.S., F.G.S. and Mr. VALLANCE STALKER.*

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Read June 18, 1874.

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A short time ago Mr. Hutchinson, the tenant of Moorhouse Farm, the property of the Right Hon. Lord Brougham and Vaux, informed one of the authors of this communication, Mr. Stalker, that he had recently laid bare a cist containing human bones, and desired him to examine the circumstances of the occurrence and the nature of the contents.

The locality where this cist was discovered is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-east of Penrith, in a field a short distance south-east of the farm-house, and very near the termination of a short low ridge running at west and south-east. In the immediate neighbourhood of the cist the ground presents a narrow and shallow basin-shaped hollow. This hollow is however the result of sand having been taken from the spot for mixing with lime; and it is owing to this that the cist was laid bare.

The cist, which consisted of four upright flags of Lower Permian sandstone, the rock of the neighbourhood, covered by an irregularly shaped flag of the same nature, had a north and south direction in its length, being about 34 inches long. The breadth, which was uneven, at the south end amounted to 26 inches, while the north end did not exceed 21 inches. The depth was 18 inches. The slabs which formed the northern and southern ends were inclosed by the longer side-flags, and were prevented from being pushed in by the lateral pressure of the sand on the outside by means of three small somewhat wedge-shaped boulders inserted into the north-west and south-east corners of the cist.

The bottom of the cist was rudely paved with small angular portions of sandstone of the same nature as the flags forming the sides. These small fragments were probably derived from the shaping of the ends of the cist. They were all more or less deepened in colour on the surface by the action of fire upon them.



The interior of the cist was in a great measure filled with fine sand, which had doubtless found its way into the cist from the surrounding soil through the crevices in the angles and under the covering flag. On removing some of the sand a skull, which had previously been observed by Mr. Hutchinson, was met with near its original position in the south-east corner of the cist.

The cervical vertebræ including the atlas and axis were next found, somewhat towards the south-east side. The left humerus was also obtained, and also a portion of the right one, together with a portion of the left scapula and the proximal end of the left radius. The dorsal vertebræ and ribs were in a very fragmentary state, and some of them had entirely disappeared. One of the lumbar vertebræ was met with, and a fragment of the pelvis, consisting of a portion of the left side, was also discovered. Both the femora were obtained, the left one being much better preserved than the right; and imperfect tibiæ were also found. The other bones of the extremities were in a very fragmentary and decomposed condition.

Judging from the position and state of the fragments of the skeleton, it would seem that the body, after being placed in the cist in a contracted position, with the face towards the north, had fallen on its right side, as the skull and other bones were found lying in greater quantities towards the south-east side of the cist. The bones of the right were all in a much more imperfect state than those of the left side; and this applies also to the right side of the skull. This greater amount of decomposition of the right side of the skeleton resulted doubtless from the greater amount of pressure to which this portion of the skeleton was subjected from having fallen on that side.

The condition of the skull, as regards developement, indicates a full-grown individual. Although many of the teeth are absent from the jaws, having dropped out after death, the lower jaw, which was also obtained, exhibits the dentition very nearly perfect, only one of the wisdom-teeth, that of the right side, being absent. This tooth probably fell out of the lower jaw, judging from the condition of its socket, also after death. The crowns of the teeth are very little worn, and their full and perfect developement as seen in the lower jaw indicates an individual who had reached maturity, but who was comparatively young. This inference is still further borne out by the condition of the suture of the skull, which was in a very open state; and in connection with the lambdoidal suture Wormian bones occur, especially two of large size in the left portion of this suture.

The general outline of the skull is strongly brachy-cephalic. There is an

absence of any angularity in the outline of the skull, and the mastoid process is only moderately developed. Not being in possession of means for properly determining the relative dimensions of the skull, or for comparing it with others, this description is left incomplete.

The lower jaw, which is rather massive, has a depth of an inch at the symphysis. The distance between the rami at the posterior angle is  $3\frac{1}{8}$  inches, and the angle is somewhat oblique. The distance between this and the symphysis, measured on the inner side, is 3 inches. The mental protuberance is well developed and very prominent.

With reference to the bones of the limbs, the humerus has a length of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The radius is too imperfect to afford any information regarding size. The femur is 18 inches long; and as both the proximal and distal ends of the tibiæ are wanting exact information cannot be obtained concerning its length. A portion of one of the fibulæ was also found, but this is in a still more imperfect condition.

Judging from the length of the femur the height of the individual to whom the skeleton appertained must have been about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet; and the muscular impressions on the limbs indicate considerable physical power.

Besides the remains of the skeleton the cist afforded two urns, both of which had been placed on the left side of the body in close proximity to each other. The larger of these urns belonged to the forms known as "food vessels," and was in a very fragmentary condition. The base, however, was perfect and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

A small portion of the side of this urn remains attached to the base. This bulges out rapidly, leading to the inference that the middle and upper portions had much greater diameters than the base.

The sides averaged about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch in thickness, and the clay used in the fabrication of this urn was mixed with small angular fragments of stone, which seem to have been produced by the breaking and crushing of larger pieces.

The external surface of this "food-vessel" is of a light brick-red colour, the interior being a light-brown shade very near the original colour of the clay of which the urn is composed. The difference in colour has probably resulted from the greater influence of the heat in baking on the external than on the internal surface.

The fragments of this urn are ornamented externally with patterns of two kinds. Judging from the fragments collectively, the "food-vessel" seems to have had near its base a series of chevron lines running round it. Immediately above



these oblique zig-zag markings occur. To these succeed horizontal lines irregular in number and in distance from each other, occupying a breadth of above  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, and showing in one fragment a series of no less than fourteen. Above these horizontal lines another series of short oblique lines occur in the form of four somewhat irregular rows surrounding the vessel and occupying a space of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch. To these another series of short horizontal lines succeeds. In one of the fragments this series exhibits eleven lines, which were also irregular in distance from each other. Above these horizontal lines is a single row of short oblique lines succeeded by a plain surface which probably approached the upper margin of the urn; but of the rim no portion remains.

The two series of horizontal lines which this "food vessel" exhibits bear distinct evidence that they have been formed by the impress of a twisted cord or thong. The oblique lines, which are deeper and wider than the horizontal, at first sight seem to have been produced either by the point of a stick or by the human nail; careful examination, however, shows that these oblique markings have the same kind of interruptions in them as occur in the finer horizontal lines, and leads to the inference that a twisted cord or thong gave rise to these interruptions. If this be the case the twisted cord was probably attached to the extremity of a wedge-shaped termination of a stick when used to produce the thick oblique impression.



DRINKING-CUP, BROUGHAM, WESTMORELAND. HEIGHT  $3\frac{1}{4}$  INCHES.



The other urn (see woodcut), which is much smaller in size, belongs to the group known as "drinking-cups." Although considerably injured this is in a much more perfect condition than the "food-vessel." The height of the drinking-cup is  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches; the base is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The greatest diameter is in the middle, and the form of the vessel is rather elegant.

The colour of the outside and inside is much more uniform than in the food vessel, being of a light brown shade. The composition is finer, the clay being mixed with very small fragments of stone, and also ashes.

The condition of the drinking-cup is sufficiently perfect to show the ornamentations on its surface in all its detail. This is much more delicate and regular in its arrangements than that of the food-vessel.

From the base, and extending for about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, is a series of oblique lines rather closely approximated passing round the cup; near the base these are overlapped by short and somewhat irregular oblique lines having an opposite direction. Above the more regular oblique lines is a series of three horizontal lines passing round the surface regularly, and occupying a breadth of about  $\frac{4}{10}$ ths of an inch. To these horizontal lines succeeds a series of oblique lines in two rows proceeding in opposite directions, and producing a lozenge-shaped pattern. Succeeding the lozenge-shaped pattern is another series of horizontal lines, also in three bands, having about the same width as the horizontal series below. On one side of the cup the mode by which this ornamentation has been produced is very manifest, as six rows of lines instead of three occur, the result of the overlapping of the ends of the three thongs or cords which formed these lines. Above the upper horizontal series and occupying the upper portion of the cup a second series of lozenge-shaped patterns occur, having a width of about an inch, and terminating in the gently-rounded upper margin of the cup. Both the oblique and horizontal lines which ornament this drinking-cup have the same interruptions in them, showing that they are all the result of the same form and mode of impress.

With respect to the occurrence of these two vessels together in the same cist, we learn from the Rev. Canon Greenwell that this is a unique circumstance so far as his great experience in barrow opening is concerned, and places beyond doubt the use of these two kinds of vessels at the same time.\*

There is one circumstance in connection with this cist which yet remains to be noticed.

\* The remains of the "food-vessel" have been presented to the Museum at Oxford, and the "drinking-cup" to the Society of Antiquaries.



This is the occurrence of what appeared to be ashes, such as would result from the burning of dried grass in considerable quantities among the small portions of flags which formed the floor of the cist. It has been already mentioned that these small portions of flags bore distinct evidence of having been subjected to the action of fire. This circumstance and the occurrence of ashes on the floor of the cist may probably be accounted for by supposing the urns to have been fired on the spot previous to the interment of the body.

Some few years ago a large urn was discovered in the low grounds in the field adjoining that which has afforded the cist above described. This urn contained burnt bones, and was surrounded by a circle of stones.

Nothing of the kind was found in connection with the cist containing the bones and the two urns which we have described. But it by no means follows that such may not have been the case originally. The sand found in the cist and immediately around it, and that which has been removed for making mortar, does not seem to be a natural deposit, but rather an artificial accumulation. It probably formed a tumulus raised over this ancient burial-place.

With reference to the age of these remains: If we derive our conclusion from the nature of the ornamentation of the vessels we might be induced to infer that, as these consist of simple lines or furrows, they point to the neolithic age.<sup>a</sup> Canon Greenwell, however, informs us that food-vessels and drinking-cups, such as those found in the cist at Moorhouse farm, have been met with by him associated with bronze implements; and that there is nothing in connection with the character of the ornaments inconsistent with their belonging to the bronze age, to which we have no doubt they are to be referred. And as no implements, nor any other articles, except those above alluded to, were found in this cist, the conclusion as to its age depends upon comparative evidence.

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<sup>a</sup> Lubbock's *Pre-Historic Times*, 1st ed. page 136.



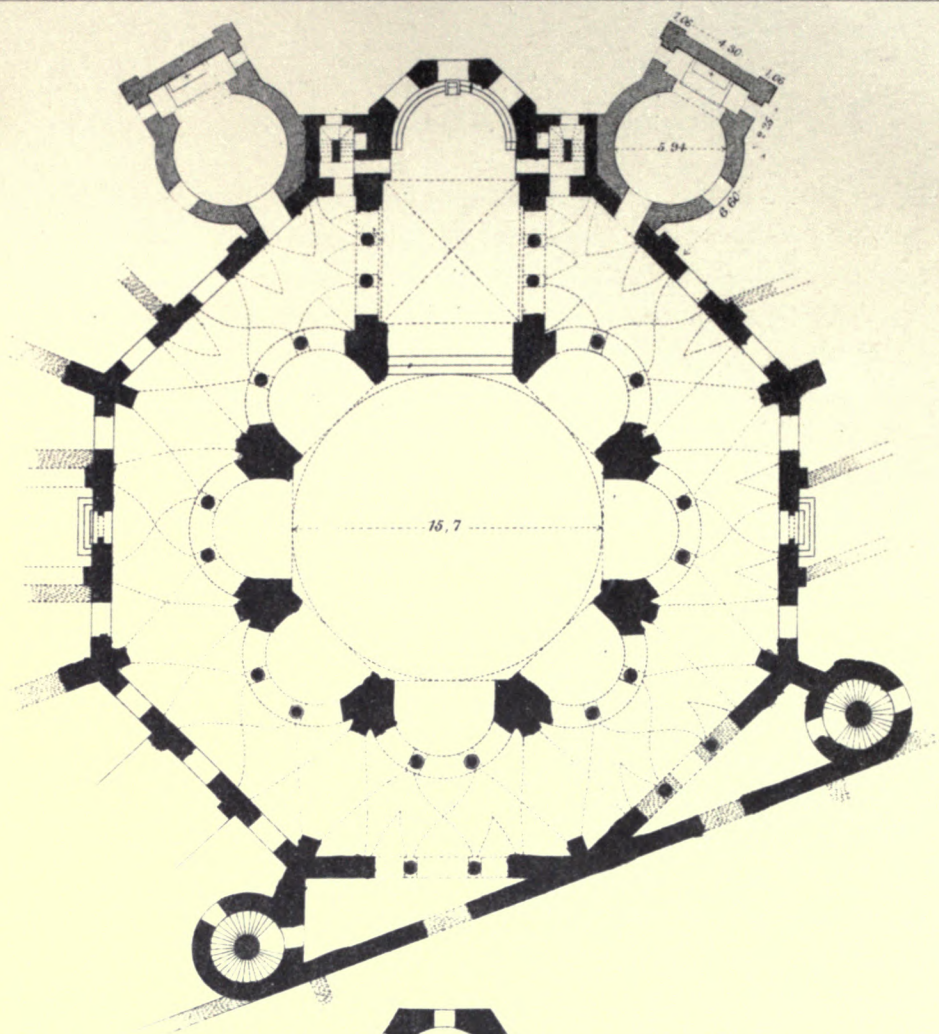




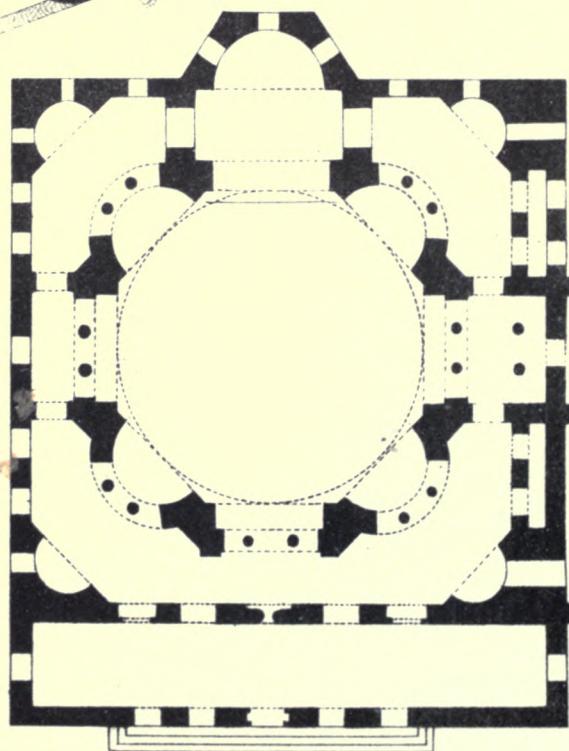
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ST VITALIS,  
RAVENNA.



ST SERGIUS & BACCHUS,  
CONSTANTINOPLE.

XXI.—*On the Byzantine Origin of the Church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, with Remarks on other Churches in that City.* By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq. F.S.A.

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Read February 24, 1876.

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It is hardly necessary to describe the situation of the town of Ravenna. Its ancient fortress occupied a strong position, resting on the sea towards the east and south, and, with an ample harbour for those days, it could not be blockaded by any army not possessing also a fleet. Lying out of the beaten track, and thus defended by the sea, Ravenna, at a time when Western Europe was convulsed with the commotions dependent upon the extinction of the Western Empire, was contentedly secure under the protection of the yet powerful empire of Constantinople.

In the sixth and seventh centuries there, at least, was one comparatively peaceful spot in Italy.

The result is the erection of a series of Christian churches in the town of an age and style to which there is nothing comparable in any other part of Western Europe, and these decorated in a manner superior to any other buildings of that age out of Constantinople itself.

It is of one of these buildings, viz. the church of St. Vitalis, that I propose to say a few words.

The church of St. Vitalis is one of the most remarkable buildings in Italy. It is fortunate that the date of it and the name of the builder are well known, and inferentially some of the circumstances in which the church was erected. I propose in the first place to describe the building, and then to give something of an historical account of it, next to give some of the theories respecting it, and, lastly, my own.

The church of St. Vitalis is throughout octagonal in shape. (See plan, Plate XXXIV.ª) It consists of an internal octagon supported by eight piers, surmounted by a round dome with Byzantine pendentives. There is an octagonal aisle round the central octagon, which is inclosed by an octagonal wall forming

ª This plan and that of the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in the same plate have been adapted from Baron Hubsch's work, *Monuments de l'Architecture Chrétienne*. Paris, 1866.



the outside wall of the church. Between each of the piers, except the two easternmost, there is a semicircular apse, the dome-shaped covering of which is supported by the piers and by two pillars between each pier. The space between the two easternmost piers is open, and forms with a large eastern apse a deep chancel. (See Plate XXXV.) The aisle does not open into the chancel, but is screened from it by a wall in which are opened three small arches, each arch being supported by two small pillars. There was a large and curious porch at the west end, now, however, in part destroyed, and quite inaccessible owing to a large building, formerly part of the monastery but now used as a barrack, having been erected against it. It opened, however, into the church with a triplet of arches, as in the church now called the Khodsha Mustafa Pasha Djamessi at Constantinople, and I think it opened on two faces. Over the octagonal aisle is a large women's gallery exactly similar in plan to the aisle below, and terminating at the north and south-eastern ends with three arches opening into the chancel, corresponding to the arches in the screen below. On each side of the great eastern apse there are two small buildings containing staircases leading up to the women's gallery, and adjoining them again are two later circular buildings, which I think must have been intended as the foundation of two of the tall circular towers for which Ravenna is celebrated, but these were never completed. There are two at either end of the porch which have been partially completed, but none of them rise to the height of many of the other circular towers in the town.

The building is constructed entirely of brick—the bricks are thin—bearing a great resemblance to the ordinary Roman brick. The windows were all round-headed, but have in some instances been modernised.

The dome, which is supported upon the eight piers by means of Byzantine pendentives, is small, so small that the pendentives are hardly apparent, but they exist nevertheless. The dome is remarkable for having been built entirely of pots placed horizontally, the end of each pot being inserted into the mouth of the pot to which it is joined. This construction was used for lightness—but either the architect doubted the durability of his building or did not know how to coat the outside of a dome, and therefore made it only a ceiling. It is covered with a wooden roof which is tiled, and the aisles are covered in the same manner.

The piers in the octagon body of the church up to the women's gallery are ornamented with marble cut into slabs as in Santa Sophia and other well-known Byzantine examples. It would appear as if the dome had been originally lined with mosaic. This has now been removed and is replaced by some very vile painting. The whole of the chancel is, however, covered with mosaics which are





ST. VITALIS, RAVENNA.





still perfect, and form the most important of the extraordinary series still remaining in Ravenna.

The pavement was originally of tessellated work, a white ground with figures, birds, and flowers; some portion of it still remains, but owing to the rising of the bed of the river the water level has also risen, and the floor of the church has been raised to a corresponding degree; and, although the Italian Government has attempted to do so, it has been found impossible to uncover the original floor. The present floor is about two feet above the original level.

The monastery attached to the church having been dissolved by the Italian Government, the church is almost disused, but is preserved as a national monument. It has been frightfully maltreated, and shows some sign of decay, chiefly through damp, but it is otherwise now well cared for, and is less likely to suffer than it was under the hands of its former owners. In many places pieces of the mosaics have been removed by the custodians for sale to visitors, and our attendant, an old woman, lamented those good days which were now passed. The building being now under the superintendence of a Government official, this robbery is put an end to.

The pillars of the building are mostly of single blocks of grey marble, selected with great care, and apparently cut for the church, and not taken from a more ancient building. The capitals of the pillars are of different orders. The capitals in the women's gallery, with the exception of those opening into the eastern apse, are of foliage in high relief. The capitals of the lower story of the octagon, and those in both stories of the screen separating the eastern apse from the aisle, are all Byzantine; the latter are of a particularly beautiful description. The ornaments upon all these are in low relief. The arches are not supported directly upon the capitals, but there is a sort of abacus above them called, I observe, by M. Texier, a "dosseret."

These abaci are ornamented in some instances with a cross, and in other instances with remarkable monograms, which have formed the subject of some antiquarian discussion. The balustrade of the women's gallery has unfortunately been modernised, and there is no trace of the original construction.

The cupola of the church is surmounted by a bronze cross, which is believed to be coeval with the building.

In the chancel are, with many other subjects, the two celebrated mosaic groups of Justinian and Theodora. The group on the north represents the Emperor Justinian inside a church, accompanied by his nobles and guard, delivering a basin with offerings to the Bishop Maximianus, who holds a cross and



is preceded by a deacon with the censer. That on the south represents the Empress Theodora and her ladies, also delivering a basin with other offerings to the attendant of the church, probably a deacon, and apparently at the outer door of the church. The mosaic also shows the fountain for washing hands outside the church.

This is a general description of the church, and now as to its history.

It fortunately happens that there is no doubt as to the date of the erection of the church. An account of its building is preserved in the annals of a monk of Ravenna named Agnellus. Agnellus lived in the reign of the Emperor Charlemagne, and in the year 775, and wrote an account of the Bishops of Ravenna and their transactions from the foundation of the Christian church there down to the time just preceding his death. The book is full of interest. Agnellus was cordially attached to the autonomy of Ravenna, and regrets deeply the fact of its falling under the papal dominion, a misfortune which must have happened about the year 750.

The book is divided into chapters, giving various incidents, both religious and secular, in the lives of the bishops.

In describing the life of Ecclesius, who was elected Bishop of Ravenna in the year 524, during the reign of Theodoric, Agnellus says, "In his time the church of the Blessed Martyr Vitalis was founded by Julianus Argentarius in conjunction with the bishop himself."

Vita Sancti Ecclesii, caput primum. De Sancto Ecclesio<sup>a</sup>

Ipsius temporibus Ecclesia B. Vitalis Martyris a Juliano Argentario una cum ipso Præsule fundata est.

Agnellus continues: "The commencement of the building of the church was made by Julianus, after that the Bishop Ecclesius had returned to Rome from Constantinople with John the Pope, whither he had been sent by Theodoric."<sup>b</sup>

Ecclesius went to Constantinople with the Pope John in the year 525, and returned in the year 526. Theodoric, the Gothic and Arian King of Italy and Ravenna, died in July of the same year; a few months before his death Ecclesius returned to Ravenna.

Agnellus, after making some observations upon bishops in general, not very complimentary to those of his own time, proceeds to say, "But, as I said before, in his time the church of the Blessed Martyr Vitalis was built by Julianus Argentarius. There is no church like it in Italy either for its construction or

<sup>a</sup> *Agnelli Liber Pontificalis. Modena, 1708. Pars Secunda, p. 38.*

<sup>b</sup> *Idem, p. 39.*

for its mechanical works." He then mentions that the expense of building the church, as was recorded in the eulogium upon its consecration, and in memory of its founder Julianus, was twenty-six thousand golden solidi.<sup>a</sup> "*Sed sicut superius dixi in tempore ipsius ecclesia B. Vitalis Martyris a Juliano Argentario constructa est. Nulla in Italia ecclesia similis est in ædificiis et in mechanicis operibus. Expensus vero in predicti Martyris Vitalis ecclesia sicut in elogio sanctæ recordationis et memoriæ Juliani fundatoris invenimus xxvi millia aureorum expensa sunt solidorum.*" Agnellus goes on to say that when Ecclesius died he was buried in the church of St. Vitalis, within the monastery of St. Nazarius. Ecclesius died in the year 534, and was succeeded by a bishop of the name of Ursicinus.

Ursicinus died in the year 538 and was buried in St. Vitalis, and it is reasonable to suppose that in his time the building proceeded. He was succeeded by a bishop of the name of Victor, who died in the year 546, and it was in the episcopate of his successor, Maximianus, that the church was consecrated.

After the death of Theodoric, in 526, the kingdom of Ravenna was assumed by his daughter, Amalasuntha, as guardian of her son, Amalaric. Amalasuntha formed an alliance with the Emperor Justinian. She reigned with her son until his death in 538; she was shortly afterwards murdered and the government taken by Vitiges, who in his turn in the year 539 was conquered by Belisarius, and Ravenna was taken for Justinian.

Maximianus was consecrated Bishop of Ravenna in the year 546, and in the same year he consecrated the church of St. Vitalis, exactly twenty years after its commencement. It would appear, therefore, that the church was twenty years in process of building, or, perhaps, to speak more strictly, in process of building and decoration. At all events it is probable that it was in his time that the mosaics were erected in the chancel, because he is represented there with the Emperor Justinian. I think there is no doubt that the consecration in the time of Maximianus was a real consecration of the church, and not a re-consecration consequent upon the use of the church by the Arians. Agnellus uses two different expressions to signify a consecration and a re-consecration of a building.

Agnellus in the account he gives of the life of St. Maximianus and of a journey he made to Constantinople, which is most entertaining, adds,<sup>b</sup> "*Consecravit ecclesiam B. Vitalis Martyris in Ravenna. Et in tribunâ B. Vitalis ejusdem Maximiani effigies atque Augusti et Augustæ tessellis valde computatæ sunt.*"

In the mosaics on the eastern apse there is a portrait of Ecclesius holding a

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 94.



model of the church. Probably, therefore, the church was substantially erected by him, but not actually completed until the time of Maximianus.

It may be interesting to remember that during these twenty years the churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Sta. Sophia, of the Apostles, and of St. Eirene at Constantinople, were all in the course of erection; and, when the Bishops Ecclesius and Maximianus went to Constantinople, they must have seen these buildings in course of construction and completed.

It will be seen that St. Vitalis was begun and completed in the reigns of two bishops, both in direct personal communication with Constantinople, and in the very best times of Byzantine architecture, the lifetime of Anthemus and Isidore.

Simultaneously with this church two others were built in Ravenna. One is the celebrated church of St. Apollinaris, in the old suburb of Classis, of which it is now the sole representative, and the other is the church of St. Martin, now called S. Apollinari Nuovo. Both churches are plain basilicas, and entirely unlike St. Vitalis. The former of them—viz. St. Apollinaris, in the suburb of Classis—was commenced by the Bishop Ursicinus, the successor of Ecclesius. It was consecrated by Maximianus, and the same man who appears as aiding in the building of the church of St. Vitalis—viz. Julianus Argentarius—appears as aiding in the building of this church also.

There has been some discussion as to who Julianus Argentarius was, and whether he was the architect or a munificent contributor to the church, but the probability is that Julianus was the banker of the diocese of Ravenna, and that he saw to the payment for these buildings, and that Argentarius is a description and not a name.

Of the other building, S. Apollinari Nuovo, there is not so much known. It was commenced in the reign of Theodoric and was most probably used as an Arian church. It was consecrated to the Catholic use by Agnellus, the successor of Maximianus, in the year 553, and was decorated by him with a series of mosaics hardly inferior in interest to those at St. Vitalis, and no doubt by the same hand.

While the churches of St. Apollinaris, in the suburb of Classis, and S. Apollinari Nuovo, are of the ordinary basilica shape, it is quite otherwise with the church of St. Vitalis, and many writers upon architecture and Ravenna, including Mr. Fergusson, have been much exercised in attempting to discover the origin of its design.

There is an interesting work upon architecture, written in French, by Baron Hubsch,<sup>a</sup> who spent a considerable time in Constantinople and Ravenna. He has

<sup>a</sup> *Monuments de l'Architecture Chrétienne*. Paris, 1866.

come to the conclusion that the church of St. Vitalis is an imitation of the church of S. Lorenzo at Milan. Baron Hubsch's account is too long to quote, but it entirely proceeds upon an assumption for which we have no authority, viz. that S. Lorenzo at Milan is anterior in date to St. Vitalis. Even if it were, there are so many differences in principle that I think the theory is in every respect untenable.

The church of S. Lorenzo is not octagonal, and one great difference between it and St. Vitalis is the total absence in the Milan church of any chancel.

Again, the dome of S. Lorenzo, according to its present formation, is not circular, and the Byzantine pendentives are of the rudest construction; nor is there in the church, as far as I remember, anything like a trace of the Byzantine detail which may be seen so plentifully in St. Vitalis; and lastly, there is the well-known Lombard Gallery under the eaves of the roof. I should say, therefore, that it is more likely that the church of S. Lorenzo was a Lombard copy of St. Vitalis than that St. Vitalis was a Byzantine copy of S. Lorenzo.

Mr. Fergusson has also given an account of this church. He says: "In design it is nearly identical with the Minerva Medica at Rome, except that this is an octagon instead of a decagon, and that it is wholly inclosed by an octagonal wall, whereas the Roman example has besides two curvilinear wings inclosing its sides. There are also some minor alterations, such as the introduction of galleries and the prominence given to the choir; but still nothing to justify the title of Byzantine usually applied to this church. It is in reality a bad copy from a building in Rome, and very unlike any building in the East we are acquainted with, though no doubt there are certain forms of similarity, as indeed must be found in all the buildings of the age before the final separation of the two churches took place."<sup>a</sup>

It is of course almost impossible to compare the church with the now shapeless temple of Minerva Medica, but I know by personal examination that the dome of the temple was not supported on pendentives.

I cannot understand the paragraph in which he says, "that no doubt there are certain forms of similarity, as indeed must be found in all the buildings of the age before the final separation of the two Churches took place."

No one knows better than Mr. Fergusson that the contemporaries of St. Vitalis in the East are the churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Sta. Sofia, St. Eirene at Constantinople, and St. John at Ephesus, and there is not a single church out of the Levant which was built in that age which could in any way compare with

<sup>a</sup> *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 512.



any one of these churches, unless it be St. Vitalis, either in design, detail, or ornament.

As to the octagon form, that was in use in the East from the earliest time.

There is an excellent description of St. Vitalis in Mr. Murray's Handbook of Italy. He observes that "It was an imitation of Sta. Sofia at Constantinople." Without in the least contradicting the fact, which I presently hope to establish, that its builder received his inspiration in part, at least, from Sta. Sofia, this proposition is too broadly stated. Too broadly also does Murray speak when he talks of "a colossal dome" when it is only 50 ft. in diameter. But in most respects his account is most accurate.

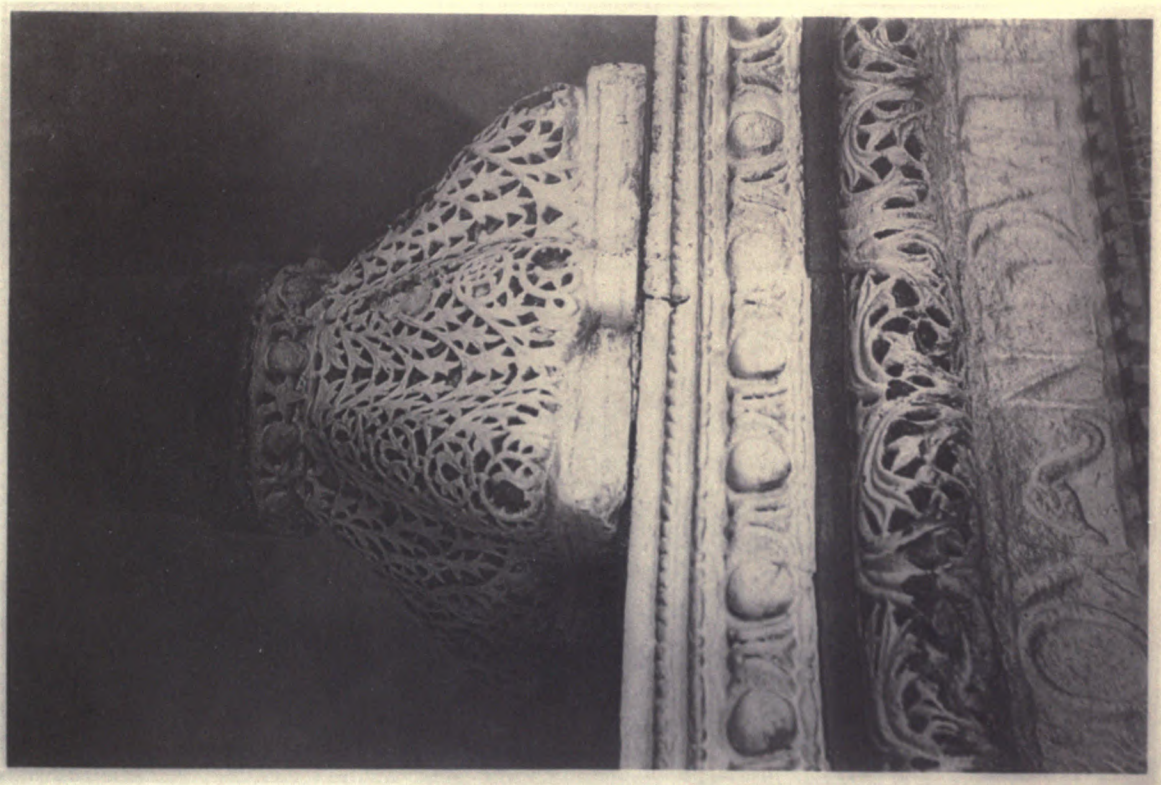
Having thus spoken of my neighbours' theories I will come to my own.

If we turn to the churches of Constantinople building at the same time as St. Vitalis we find the following similarity; in the first place, the deep chancel and apse; in the second place, the semicircular apses between the piers. These in St. Vitalis, indeed, seem to be an exact copy of those in Sta. Sophia, and not unlike those in SS. Sergius and Bacchus, except that the arrangement of St. Vitalis appears somewhat more complete than either of the Byzantine examples. The large women's gallery, the marble decoration, the mosaics, all point to Constantinople. The arrangement of the staircases leading to the women's gallery is exactly like that at St. Eirene.

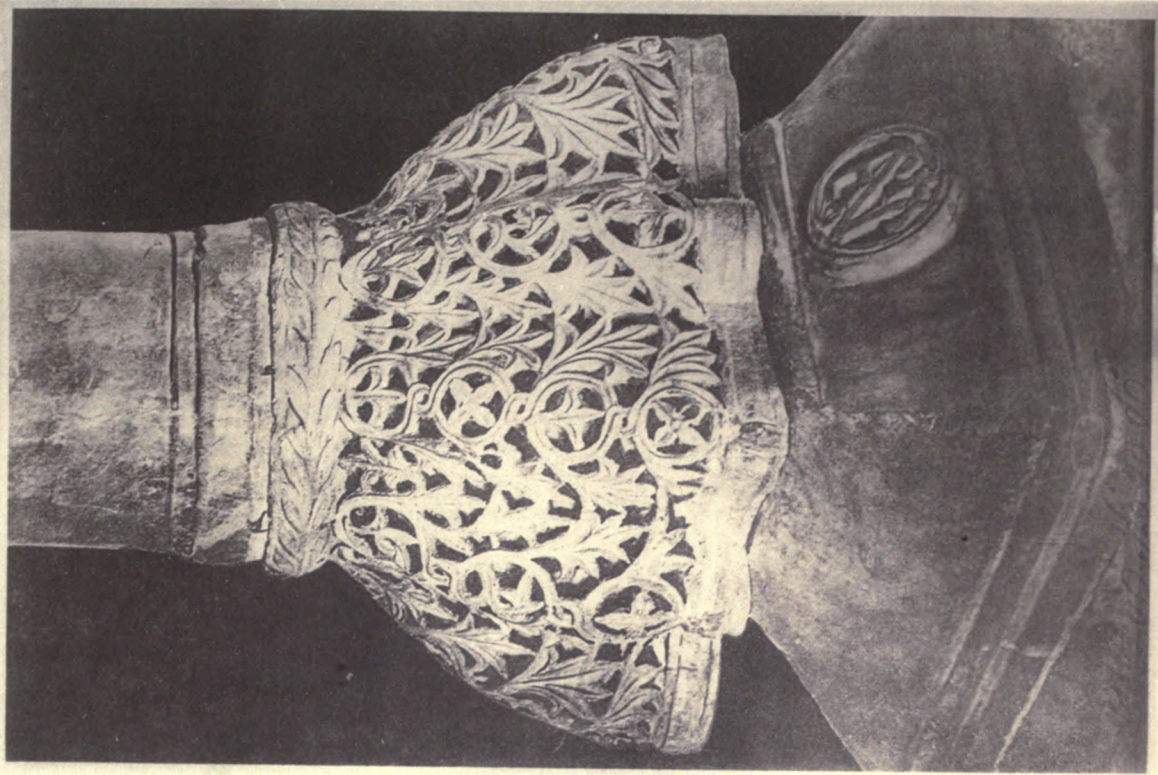
There are, on the contrary, some remarkable differences in detail between this church and the churches of Constantinople. In the first place, the dome of the church at Ravenna is covered with a roof; in Constantinople the domes invariably form their own roof. But, if we turn from Constantinople to Salonica, there we see in the circular church of St. George a deep chancel similar to that of St. Vitalis and a dome covered with a roof. In another church at Salonica, St. Demetrius, we find further peculiarities and details similar to those in the church of Ravenna; the church of St. Demetrius appears to have been built as a T-shaped basilica, a nave and four aisles, with a transept in front of the apse. In order to form a deep chancel the transepts have been cut off by a screen like that which in St. Vitalis separates the chancel from the octagonal aisles.

Again, we find over the capitals in St. Demetrius the same large abacus that we find in the church of St. Vitalis, and with respect to the capitals there is one beautiful capital, which, allowing for the difference in execution, is found at St. Vitalis, St. Demetrius at Salonica, Sta. Sofia, and SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and, to the best of my belief, nowhere else. (See Plate XXXVI.) There is another peculiar ornament which is confined to St. Vitalis and Constantinople.





ST. VITALIS, RAVENNA.

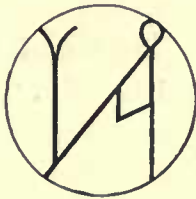


SS. SERGIUS & BACCHUS, CONSTANTINOPLE.

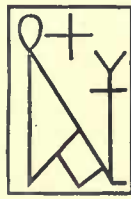




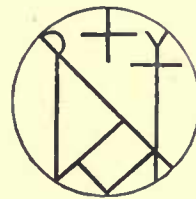
I mean the strange monograms on the capitals of the pillars. Those at St. Vitalis are obviously all copied in idea from the monograms upon the capitals in the church of Sta. Sophia, and one at least is an exact reproduction. The Ravenna monograms have caused a great deal of discussion, and the meaning of them is by no means clear. Every kind of interpretation has been put upon them, but the usually received opinion seems to be that the monogram with the cross, occurring often on the capitals (Plate XXXVI.), represents the word *Ecclesius*, the other (see woodcut) *Julianus*. I cannot follow the former, and unless there was a *Julianus* connected with Sta. Sofia the latter reading is incorrect, as this monogram appears in Sta. Sofia also.



ST. VITALIS.



SANTA SOFIA.



SANTA SOFIA.

With regard to the prominence of the chancel, although there are many circular churches in Italy, not one of them has any chancel beyond the smallest apse, whereas all the eastern churches have well developed chancels.

From all which considerations I come to the conclusion that the church of St. Vitalis, commenced by the Bishop *Ecclesius* and completed by *Maximianus*, was built after the fashion of an eastern church, both in design and in detail, and that it was built by workmen who had seen the designs of, or who had been employed on, the churches of Sta. Sophia and of *Salonica*.

On the contrary, the two churches of St. *Apollinaris* were built in the ordinary form of an Italian church at that date, and any Byzantine ornaments that are found in them are due to the fact that they were built under the same *Julianus Argentarius* who superintended the building of the church of St. Vitalis, and to the general communication between Ravenna and the East, which was much more intimate than between Rome and Ravenna. The ecclesiastical names and ornaments were brought from Constantinople and not Rome.

One of the principal monasteries in Ravenna was named Sta. Maria ad *Blachernas*, of which our historian, *Agnellus*, was abbot.

And for ornaments there is still preserved in the cathedral at Ravenna the episcopal chair of the Bishop *Maximianus* of ivory, upon which there may be seen



a Byzantine monogram. There is no doubt that this chair<sup>a</sup> (Plate XXXVII) is Byzantine, because, in addition to the monogram, the figures are giving the blessing in the Greek and not the Latin form. This is interesting, because in a Latin representation of this chair the figures are shown as giving the blessing in the Latin form.

I have not said anything about the mosaics, because I do not think that they touch the matter in any way. The mosaics are of course Byzantine, and exceedingly interesting, particularly the groups of Justinian and Theodora. There are two mosaics of Justinian in Ravenna, one in St. Vitalis and the other in S. Apollinari Nuovo, and I should think there is little doubt these must be portraits.

The portrait in mosaic of Justinian is characteristically ugly, and not unlike his figure as it appears upon his coins.

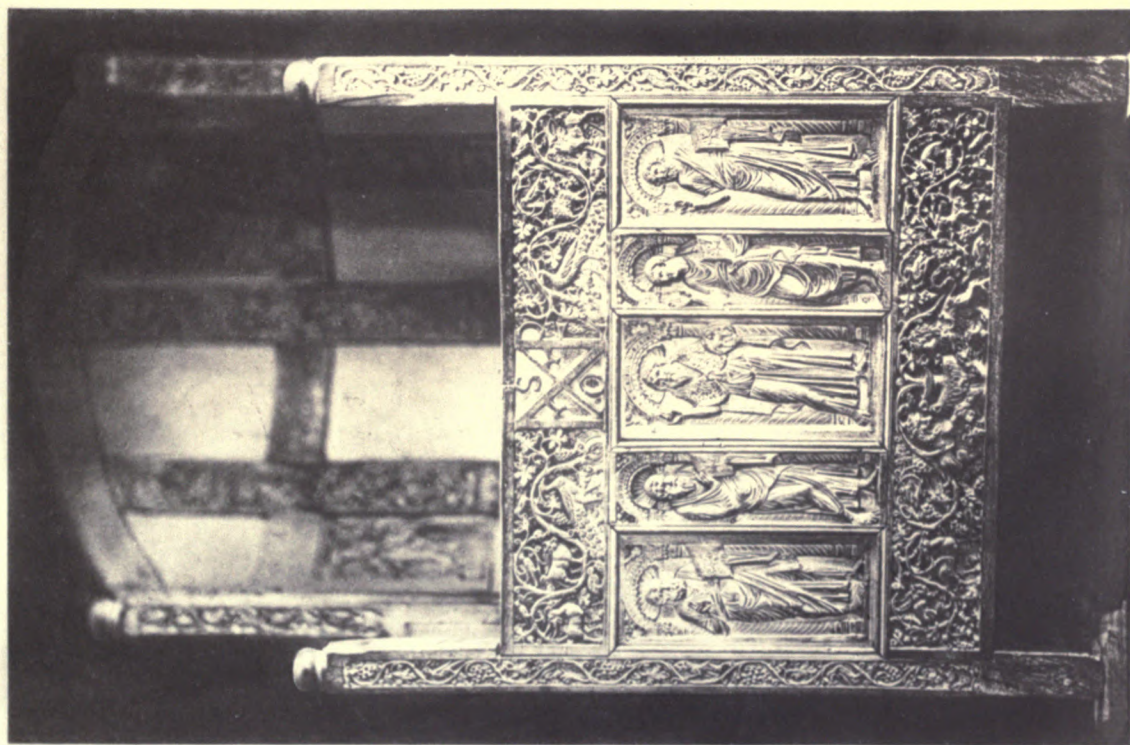
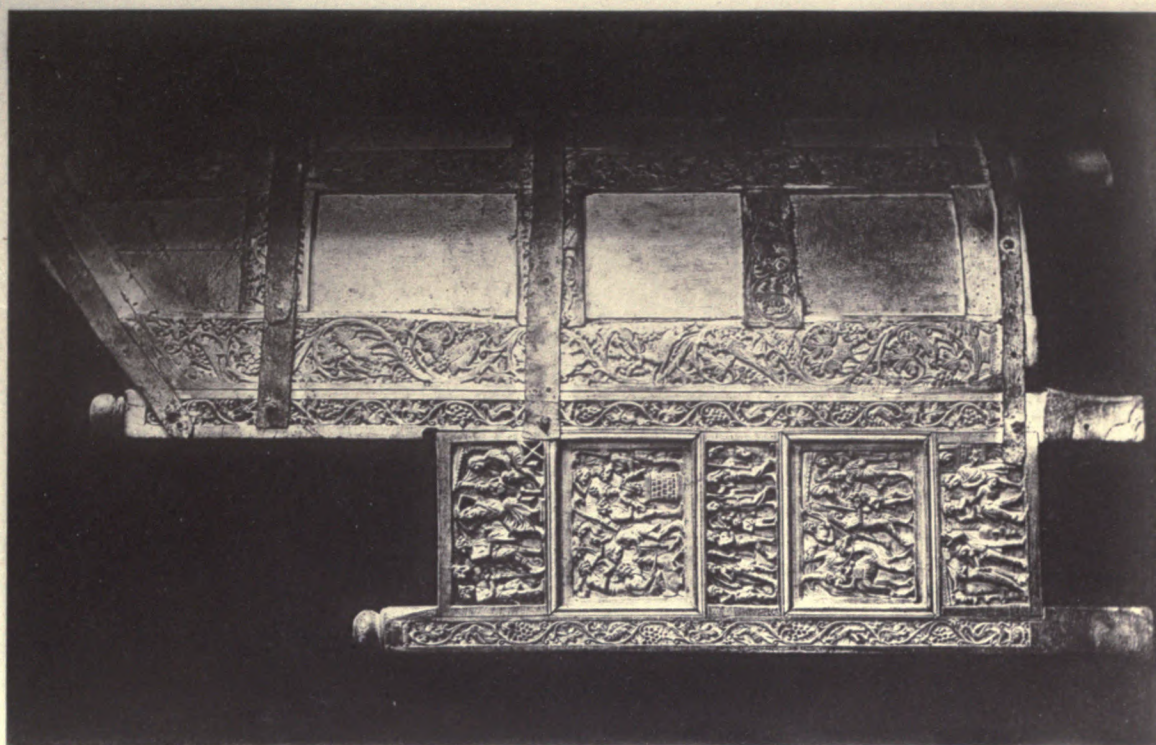
Time does not allow me to describe the other mosaics, but I must say a word more about the great group at the eastern end of St. Vitalis. In it is the representation of St. Ecclesius carrying the church in his arms. The Emperor and Empress both are represented as bearing bowls, which have given rise to a great deal of discussion. It has been suggested that the Emperor and Empress were present at the dedication of the church, and that these mosaics represent them bringing their offerings, but I believe this is altogether unfounded; there is no evidence that the Emperor and Empress ever went to Italy. I should think that the figures more probably represent the Emperor and Empress bringing offerings at the celebration of the Holy Communion. In fact, the group of the Emperor Justinian with his nobles and men-at-arms is most probably the representation of a Byzantine Emperor at one of the entrances. The Empress Theodora is outside the church, probably going up into her seat in the women's gallery.

In the church of St. Apollinaris ad Classem is a singular group representing the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus giving privileges to the Bishop Reparatus, the dresses in which may be usefully compared with those in St. Vitalis.

I need hardly say that this paper by no means exhausts the subjects of interest in St. Vitalis. My object has been, and I hope I have succeeded in so doing, to throw some additional light upon its Byzantine origin.

<sup>a</sup> A description of this chair is given in Westwood's Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum, p. 357. An unsatisfactory engraving of it may be found in Du Sommerard's *Arts du Moyen Age*, Album, 1<sup>re</sup> Série, pl. xi., and also in the appendix to the *Liber Pontificalis* of Agnellus. Our engraving, together with the others from Ravenna, is reproduced from photographs by Signor Luigi Ricci of Ravenna, who has printed a list of nearly 500 photographs of buildings and antiquities in that city.





EPISCOPAL CHAIR OF IVORY. CATHEDRAL OF RAVENNA.





XXII.—*Remarks on some Charters and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Robertsbridge, in the County of Sussex, in the possession of the Rev. J. H. Blunt, M.A., F.S.A.* By CHARLES SPENCER PERCEVAL, ESQ., LL.D., Director.

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Read February 2nd, 1871.

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THE charters and other documents which Mr. Blunt has kindly exhibited this evening formed a part of the archives of the Cistercian Abbey of Robertsbridge, founded in 1176, at a spot within the parish of Salehurst, in Eastern Sussex, where the high road from Hastings to Tunbridge crosses the River Rother, which here changes its course from south-east to east, and after passing Bodiham Castle forms for a few miles the boundary between Kent and Sussex, until turning sharply to the south it enters the sea at Rye Harbour.

The founder, Alured or Alfred de St. Martin, seems to have been a person of some distinction in his day. In the charter of the first year of King Richard I. now exhibited (see Appendix No. I.) he is styled *dapifer noster*, and, as Mr. Stapleton observes, he held the same office in the next reign, and was in constant attendance on his sovereign, as is evidenced by the frequency of the occurrence of his name as an attesting witness to royal charters of the time. In 1180, and again in 1184, he is found on the Norman Exchequer Rolls accounting for the issues of the bailiwick of the Pays de Bray, and the *præpositura* of Drincort or Neufchâtel-en-Bray.\*

He appears to have been a tenant of the Earl of Eu (Comes Auci, de Auco, de Augo, Auciensis) both in Normandy and in England, and in 1161 he obtained from a kinsman, Geoffrey de St. Martin, in exchange for certain Norman estates, all the land which Geoffrey held of the Earl in England, and which is described in Mr. Blunt's charter (see Appendix No. II.) as the land of Wariland, with the appurtenances, to be held of Geoffrey as freely as his father ever held it, by the

\* See Rot. Scacc. Norm. i. pp. cii. cxxxviii.



service of one knight's fee. The date of the charter, besides referring to the year of our Lord, is fixed by the statement that it was done in the same year that the Kings of France and England were reconciled (*pacificati sunt*).<sup>a</sup>

The Earl of Eu at this date was John, great-grandson of Robert, the "Comes Augi," of Domesday Book. He retained a large estate in England, having at the levying of the aid to marry the King's daughter (12 Henry II.) no less than fifty-six knights' fees there. His father had sixty knights' fees in the rape of Hastings. He married Alice, daughter of William de Albini, Earl of Arundel, by Adeliza of Louvain, the widow of Henry I. After his death in 1170 the Countess Alice married Alured de St. Martin, and became a benefactress to Robertsbridge.<sup>b</sup>

Though not a formal party to the deed of exchange, the Earl ratified it by affixing his seal, as engraved in the Appendix. It is in brown wax, circular, somewhat dished, and in fine preservation, bearing the Earl's effigy on horseback, with the legend arranged in an unusual manner so as to begin reading in the field—

SIGILLVM | JOHANNES : COMES : AUGI.

The seal of Geoffrey de St. Martin also remains appended. It is likewise in brown wax, two inches in diameter. The subject, as will be seen on reference to the engraving, is a lion passant to the sinister, with the legend—

+ SIGILLV GAVFRIDI DE SCO MARTINO.

Wariland, the subject of the exchange, is considered by the Rev. G. M. Cooper in his Notices of the Abbey of Robertsbridge,<sup>c</sup> (chiefly compiled, I may here mention, from other charters of the abbey discovered some years ago at Penshurst Castle), as identical with "Walilond," a name which occurs in other deeds, and which he finds at Walland Merse, in the parish of Ivychurch, land afterwards in the possession of the monastery. I venture to think, however, that it must have denoted a territory of some extent in the rape of Hastings, including at all events the site of the abbey.

The charter of Richard I. already referred to (Appendix No. I.), confirms to Alured de St. Martin, *dapifero nostro*, the gift made to him by Henry, Earl of Eu, in presence of the late King Henry II. after the death of the Countess Alice,

<sup>a</sup> See Roger de Hoveden, Rolls edition, i. 217, as to this peace of 1161.

<sup>b</sup> Sussex Arch. Coll. viii. 148.

<sup>c</sup> Sussex Arch. Coll. viii. 141. For Walland Merse, see p. 150, *ibid.*

of certain lands, Eleham and Bensintone, parcel of her *maritagium*, for his life. What interest the monks of Robertsbridge had in these lands does not appear.

Prior to the year 1204 the monks obtained from Seffrid (Bishop of Chichester from 1180 to that year) a sort of confirmation of their position in the diocese, in the form of the instrument given in the Appendix No. III. It is a curious document. None of the lands of Robertsbridge were held mediately or immediately of the Bishop, and no act of his could perfect their legal title thereto. Seffrid, however, gave them what he could; in the first place, he takes the Abbat and his monks under the protection of God, of the church of Chichester, and his own, and confirms to them, "*ed quā fungimur auctoritate*," all their present and future lawfully acquired possessions. He then enumerates the chief existing estates thus:—First, the entire fee of Robertsbridge, where their church is situated, and which his beloved Alured de St. Martin,<sup>a</sup> founder of the house, had given them in frankalmoigne. Next, all the land which Alured had held in fee-farm of the canons of St. Mary of Hastings. Then, all Alured's land between Winchelsea and Clivesende, the land of Farleic (Fairlight), the land of Gencelin,<sup>b</sup> and the land of Poclesherse, bought by Alured and given by him to the convent. The instrument concludes by a threat of the divine vengeance and the serious indignation of the see of Chichester against any one molesting the monks in their property or in respect of their franchises and privileges granted by King Henry II. or by apostolic authority.

Passing over the events of the next century, which none of the present documents particularly illustrate, we come to several charters which refer to a disputed claim to certain ecclesiastical property; a business which occasioned great anxiety to the monks for a long space of years.

As already stated, the abbey of Robertsbridge stood in the parish of Salehurst, which seems to have been regarded as the mother church of Mundefeld (now Mountfield), the next parish southwards, and Odymere (now Udimore), lying seven miles off towards Rye. After the fashion of conventual bodies in those days, the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge were most anxious to improve their finances by appropriating these churches. For this was required, first, that they should acquire the advowsons, having obtained licence from the lords of the fee to hold them, and then that they should procure from the

<sup>a</sup> Alured seems from this to have been alive at the date of this instrument.

<sup>b</sup> This estate was in Seddlecombe parish. See Sussex Arch. Coll. viii. 149.



Bishop permission to appropriate the tithes to their own uses, subject, of course, to an arrangement for the performance of divine offices in the churches and parishes appropriated.

Among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum is a small volume (No. 28,550) which formerly belonged to Robertsbridge. It contains copies of records and terriers or rentals of estates of the monastery, prefaced by a few vellum leaves, a portion of a chronicle or narrative of the transactions in which the abbey was engaged relative to the appropriation in question. This document is to some extent fragmentary, the first leaf beginning with the words "Odymeret et Mundefeld," and ending abruptly, one or more leaves being lost. The next five leaves are perfect, and altogether enough remains to make out the story, the accuracy of which is in the most important particulars confirmed by Mr. Blunt's deeds and other records.

There seemed to me to be so much that is of interest in this little domestic chronicle in the way of illustration of mediæval and conventual manners that, at the risk of the charge of tediousness, I have ventured to give large extracts from the manuscript, preserving as much as possible the arrangement and diction of the original.

The first step in the business, after procuring a promise of the advowsons from Sir William de Echingham, the patron, head of a family of some distinction, who took their surname from the manor of the same name, about two miles north of Robertsbridge, was to obtain the King's licence in mortmain to take the advowsons and appropriate the churches. This licence was granted, as noticed by Mr. Cooper (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* viii. 161), in the second year of King Edward II.<sup>a</sup>

The first fragment of the chronicle, as I have termed it, begins here. After mentioning that Brother Laurence, the Abbat, obtained the King's licence just mentioned, dated May 20, as it would seem, it proceeds to tell how he journeyed to Fotheringhay Castle, where John, Duke of Brittany, and lord of the rape of Hastings (*mesne* lord, therefore, between the King and Sir William de Echingham), was residing, and how, with great difficulty, "*et non sine lacrimis*," not without having recourse to the persuasive influence of a flood of tears, he prevailed on the Duke to give his licence in mortmain also.

Sir William, on seeing the charters of the King and the Duke, made his own charters in duplicate, as the chronicler with great precision states, of the advowsons,

<sup>a</sup> Cal. Rot. Pat. 2 Edw. II. 2<sup>n</sup> pars, m. 6, "Pro Abbate de Ponte Roberti de appropriatione."

together with an acre of land for glebe, lying without the east gate of the abbey, which acre is called in English "Seynte Maries Aker."

This charter is one of those exhibited by Mr. Blunt. By it Sir William de Echingham gives to God and the church of St. Mary of Robertsbridge, and to Brother Laurence, Abbat, and the convent there, one acre of his brush land (*terra Brocalis*) in Salherst, together with the advowsons of the churches of Salherst, Odimere, and Mundefeld, with their appurtenances, which acre of land lay without the east gate of the abbey next the river (*ripam*) which runs from Robertsbridge to Bodiham bridge, and which was of the donor's tenement of Hegham, in free and perpetual alms, with clause of warranty. Witnesses: Sir Robert de Passeleghe, Sir Henry Wardedden, and Sir Baldwyn de Stowe, knights; Edmund de Passeleghe, William de Lonesford, Alan de Bokesselle, Roger Doghet, Henry de Scharndenne, Richard de Codynge, Olyver de Cressy, William de Ponte, and many others.

To this charter, the very fine seal of the donor, in green wax, with counterseal,



SEAL AND COUNTERSEAL OF SIR WILLIAM DE ECHINGHAM, TEMP. EDW. II.

remains appended. The heraldry of this seal presents an enigma, which, for want of information as to the matrimonial alliances of the family, remains to a great extent unsolved, either by the Sussex antiquaries or by myself. The coat, (Azure), fretty (argent), is for Echingham; the three crescents and a canton are



for Stopham; the mother of this William, wife of his father of the same name, having been Eva, daughter and heir of Ralph de Stopham.\* Of the three other coats I will say nothing. It is easier to assign names to them than to explain the connection of the families named with the Echingshams.

The charter is not dated, but, as already shown, it may safely be referred to the second year of Edward II.

The Abbat, we are told, undertook, in the next place, a second journey to the North, about Candlemas, 1309-10 (3 Edward II.), and this time as far as York, where the Bishop of Chichester, John de Langehetone (Langton), then was, in attendance, no doubt, on the King, as he held the office of Chancellor. The Abbat hoped to induce his diocesan to agree amicably to the appropriation. In this hope, however, he was disappointed, for the Bishop had a strong objection to the transaction and refused his consent.

Brother Laurence was not to be baffled by this, but about the middle of the following Lent, 1310, having first set his monastery in good order in every respect, he set out, unknown to the Bishop, for Avignon, where "the Court of Our Lord the Pope then was." Here he was more successful, for he soon<sup>b</sup> obtained a bull authorising the appropriation of the church so much desired. But "*omnia Romæ cum pretio*." Fees had to be paid, and the Abbat's purse had run so low that he had not enough money left to pay for his bull and his journey home. The consequence was that much *à contre cœur*, "*cum magnâ cordis angustid*," he was forced to stay at Avignon as patiently as he might till after Midsummer Day, when the return of a trusty messenger whom he had despatched to Robertsbridge for supplies relieved him of his difficulty. He got safe home with his Papal privilege about the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the fourth year of the King's reign (August 1, 1310), and had a fine levied in the King's Court on the octave of St. Martin, Nov. 18, of that year, wherein William de Echingham warranted the advowsons for himself and his heirs.

Whether tired of these constant peregrinations undertaken in the interest of his convent, or for other good causes, Brother Laurence, not long after, that is, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8,) 1311, retired from the office of Abbat. He was immediately succeeded, on September 10, by

\* See Mr. Spencer Hall's Echyngham of Echyngham, London, 1850; and Sussex Arch. Coll. ix. 344.

<sup>b</sup> The text says that he obtained the Bull on viii. Kal. Martii, in the fifth year of Pope Clement the fifth, that is, on February 22, 1310, but considering that he did not set out for Avignon till about Midlent, and that Midlent Sunday in that year fell on March 29, this is impossible. Perhaps, by a slip of the pen, Martii has been written for Maii, which would do well enough.

Brother John de Wallyngfeld, a monk of the house, whose first duty was to proceed to London to wait on the newly-arrived Cardinal Arnold (Novelli) of the title of St. Prisea, Cardinal Priest, and sometime Abbat of the Cistercian House of Fons Frigidus (Font-froide), in the diocese of Narbonne. The object of this visit was to induce the great man to intercede between his co-religionists of Robertsbridge and the Bishop, Archdeacon, and Dean and Chapter of Chichester, in whose joint names an appeal had been lodged in the Roman Court against the Bull of appropriation, which, indeed, as we have seen, had been obtained by Abbat Laurence behind their backs.

The first leaf of Add. MS. 28,550 ends at this point, and there is a *hiatus* of some years.

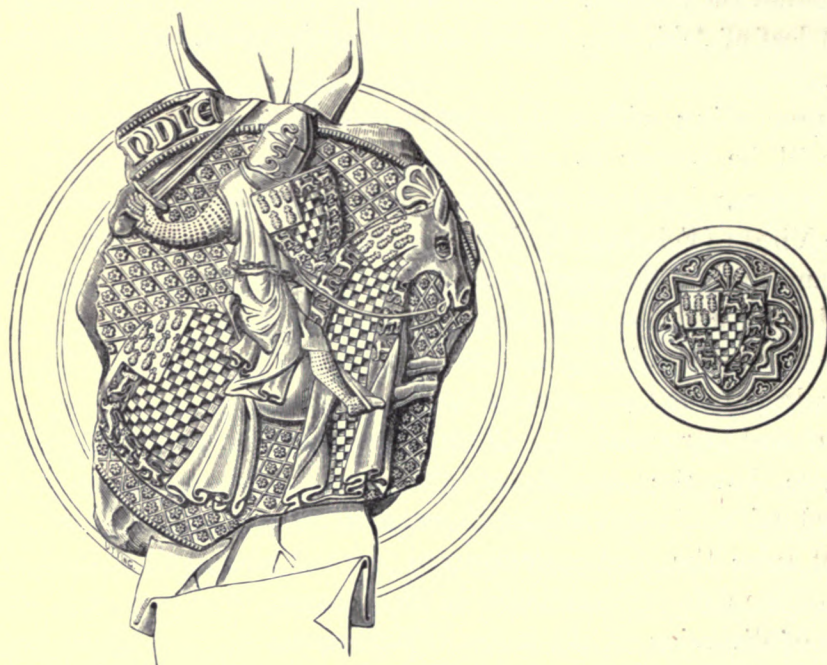
Before proceeding with what may be called the second act of the Salehurst drama, it will be proper to notice that in 1315, by another charter in Mr. Blunt's collection, dated at London, on Sunday next after the feast of St. Agatha the Virgin (February 9), 1315, John of Brittany, styling himself Earl of Richmond and lord of the rape of Hastings, granted and confirmed to the Abbat of Robertsbridge and Convent there all the lands and tenements, &c. which William de Echyngham had given to them in the rape of Hastings, according to his charters, in pure and perpetual alms. Moreover, he granted and confirmed to them in pure and perpetual alms the water of Poukheldebroke and the course of that water, so that they might freely conduct that water to their millpond at Wynhamford, with all other waters descending to the said mills: provided that they do not raise the dam (*calcetum*) of the millpond higher than it was raised on the day of the date of the deed. With a release of all actions and demands on account of diversion of the water. Witnesses: Sir Robert de Hastanges, Sir Peter de Grauntsoun, Sir Robert de Feltone, his knights; John de Stykeneye, his seneschal; Robert de Kersebroke, his bailiff of the rape of Hastings; Matthew de Saint Giles (de Sancto Egidio), his chamberlain; Oger de Podeyngs, marshal of his household, and others.

The large fragment of the handsome seal which remains pendant to this charter is figured overleaf. It is enclosed in a circular pouch of red kid leather, stitched round with a plaited cord of green and yellow silk. A duplicate of this document, under the same seal, "nearly perfect," and preserved in a "neatly constructed leather case," was among the Battle Abbey charters, as appears from Thorpe's Catalogue, p. 62.

The arms are thus tersely blazoned by a contemporary authority (Roll of Arms temp. Edw. II. Nicolas, 1829, Roll N. of Papworth): "Le Counte de



Rugemond, les Armes de Garenne (*i.e.* Warren, checquy or and azure), à un quarter de ermyne (for Brittany) od la bordure de Engleterre." Sandford (*Genealogical History*, p. 936) observes that this John de Britannia bore the bordure of lions not only to distinguish him from his eldest brother Arthur, Duke of Brittany, but also to show his descent from King Henry III. whose daughter Beatrice was wife of John de Dreux, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, and father of this John.



SEAL AND COUNTERSEAL OF JOHN OF BRITTANY, EARL OF RICHMOND, 1315.

Sir William de Echingham continued to be a benefactor to the abbey, for by his charter (among Mr. Blunt's documents, and under the seal already figured), dated Thursday next after the Annunciation B.V.M. 12 Edw. II. (March 29, 1319), he grants, remises, and for himself and his heirs quit-claims, to Sir Nicholas, Abbat, and the Convent of Robertsbridge, all his right and claim in one acre and a-half of meadow with the appurtenances in Salehirst, called Lesebrokes de Horepoleslond, which he had of the gift of Alan de Bokeselle, knight, to hold the meadow, which is of his fee of Echingham, in frank almoigne. Witnesses: Sir Robert de



Echingham, Sir Alan de Bokeselle, knights; William de Lonesford, William de Ponte, William de Haremere, Elpher Foghelyng, and others.

Sir William died without issue in the 20th and last year of King Edward II. 1327, and was succeeded by his brother and heir Sir Robert, who very shortly after also died without issue.

His next brother and heir was Sir Simon of Echingham, who did not show himself so good a friend to the monks as his eldest brother; for in Trinity Term, 6 Edward III. 1332, proceedings were had in the Common Pleas on a writ of *quare impedit* brought by him against the Abbat of Robertsbridge to enforce his alleged right of presentation to the prebend of Salehurst, in the free chapel of the King at Hastings, then vacant. A transcript of the record is entered on folio 10 of the British Museum MS.; from this it appears that judgment went against Sir Simon, and it may be noted that the Abbat produced the licence in mortmain of Edward II. previously referred to, and also pleaded that the benefice was full, by the presentation by Sir William de Echingham of one John de Godele, his clerk, who was still alive.

We are here presented with a new fact, that Salehurst, and apparently the other two churches as well, formed the *corps* of a prebend in the small collegiate church or royal free chapel of St. Mary within the castle of Hastings, founded for a dean and certain secular canons.<sup>a</sup>

The interrupted narrative of the "Chronicle" re-commences about this point, somewhat abruptly, but from the context it may be gathered that prior to 1332 there had been proceedings in the Court of Arches relative to the prebend, and that the Dean and Canons in or about 1333 commenced a fresh suit in the Spiritual Court against the convent with reference to the appropriation.

A third adversary had arisen against them in the person of Robert de Tanthone, a clerk high in the confidence of Edward III. having at one time held, and probably indeed holding in 1333, the office of the keeper of the privy seal,<sup>b</sup> and who at his death in or about 1335 was treasurer of the household.<sup>c</sup> He had procured either from the King, who seems to have claimed the advowson of the prebend, or from Sir Simon de Echingham, or both, a presentation to the church and prebend of Salehurst, and in 1333 was engaged in an appeal against the

<sup>a</sup> See an account of the chapel in Sussex Arch. Coll. vol. xiii. p. 132.

<sup>b</sup> Rot. Parl. vol. ii. 109<sup>b</sup>, n. 33, 13 Edw. III.

<sup>c</sup> Cal. Ret. Pat. (p. 122) 9 Edw. III. 1<sup>a</sup> pars, m. 34.



Abbat and Convent touching the same. At this time King Edward, we are told, had made his expedition in aid of Edward Baliol, and was besieging Berwick-on-Tweed, where Robert de Tanthone was in waiting on him.

Sir Simon brought a fresh writ of *quare impedit* against the Abbat, that he should permit him to present a fit person to the prebend of Salehurst. It may be gathered that Robert de Tanthone was the presentee, for by his procurement royal letters were sent to London to the judges of the Court of King's Bench, requiring them to assist Sir Simon as much as possible.

Up to this point Sir Simon and Robert de Tanthone were pulling together, as the phrase is, but now, for some reason not very clear, in the absence of the entire context, but probably on account of the judgment against Sir Simon, in the former suit of *quare impedit*, Robert took his own ground, and induced the King to order the justices to transmit to him the whole record and process for examination by his council. This resulted in the despatch of letters under the privy seal (*litteras privatas*) to the Chancery, ordering that all the charters of the Abbat of Robertsbridge lately granted "*per consilium suum (i.e. regis) præter conscientiam ejus*," which I take to mean granted as of course, without actual knowledge on the King's part, should be cancelled.

Now when these letters (the MS. proceeds) came to be circulated in the Chancery, one of the clerks, John de St. Paul, answered and said that it would be a very bad precedent if the King, out of his own head, should revoke charters made by his Council and duly enrolled; and the Chancellor, John de Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, happening to be friendly to the Abbat, deferred giving effect to the royal mandate.

Finding himself thus foiled, Robert de Tanthone began again, and obtained a fresh presentation, not from Sir Simon but from the King, whom he worked upon to such an extent as to cause him to send a writ to the Abbat "*per duos magnos clericos*," and concurrently to transmit to the Sheriff of Sussex his writ of *scire facias*, summoning the Abbat to appear in the Chancery three weeks after Easter to answer as to the patents which the writ alleged had been obtained craftily against the King's knowledge.<sup>a</sup> Besides this, he had four writs of *quare*

<sup>a</sup> The patents in question are probably those of the sixth year of Edward III. Rot. Pat. *ej. anni*, 3<sup>a</sup> pars, m. 3, et m. 10, de appropriatione Ecclesiarum de Salehurst, Odemerc, et Mundefeld, cited by Tanner. There is a hint in fo. 2b of the "Chronicle" that the King's council had amended the patent. I do not know in what respect, but the occurrence of two patents in one regnal year on the same subject seems to point to an amendment or further grant.

*impedit* issued in either Bench against Sir Simon de Echingham and the Abbat, that they should permit him, the King, to present to the prebend of Salehurst then vacant and of his gift. Hence it became plain to all concerned that the King was determined by every means in his power to deprive both Sir Simon and the Abbat of any right they respectively claimed in the prebend.

From this point we may follow the little chronicle without much interruption.

The Abbat, John de Lamberhurst, suffering from long-continued ill-health, and in great straits, fearing lest the cause of his church should be decided against him in the Chancery if he were absent, set off on his journey to York the day after he received his summons. He took with him the cellarer, Brother John of Battle, and he stayed in London sufficiently long to appear in the Court of Common Pleas before Sir William Herle and his fellow-justices there, and to appoint Thomas of Battle, who was the cellarer's brother, and one Bertram of Southwark, his attorneys in the actions of *quare impedit*.

The journey to York was performed without adventure, and, after a few days, the Abbat appeared before the Archbishop of York, "then Keeper of the Great Seal,"\* and many other Lords of the Council. He was closely examined, "*terribiliter allocutus*," as to the charters of the King and of his father concerning the appropriation of the prebend, but pleaded by his counsel, "*per consilium suum*," that he was not summoned to answer as to the charter of the King's father but only as to those of the King himself. This plea or *demurrer* was held good, owing partly to the friendly disposition of the Lord Keeper, to whom the Bishop of Chichester had written in the Abbat's favour, and thus the proceedings in *scire facias* ended by the discharge of the defendant, pending the issue of a better writ.

On his return to London the Abbat found that, under the discreet management of Brother Thomas, things were on the whole taking a good turn.

The interests of the royal chapel of St. Mary, of Hastings Castle, appear to have been entrusted to Master Geoffrey de Clare, no doubt one of the Canons, for soon after we find that he became Dean of the college. He had previously acted

\* William de Melton, Archbishop of York, had the custody of the Great Seal, apparently in the absence of John de Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, from Aug. 10, 1333 (7 Edw. III.), till January 13, 1334 (in the same regnal year), when the seal was entrusted to three other Commissioners, of whom it may be noted John de St. Paul, mentioned on a previous page, was one. In 1337 he became Master of the Rolls. See Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's Catalogue of Lords Chancellors, &c. London, 1843. But it does not appear from that work that the Archbishop was holding the seal at Easter, 1333, as from the MS. appears to have been the case.



as proctor to Robert de Tanthone in the ecclesiastical suit. Now, when he heard that the Abbat, contrary to expectation, had been dismissed from the Chancery without final judgment against him, he bethought him of the ingratitude of Robert de Tanthone, who was trying to oust his former friend Sir Simon from all his right and profit in the prebend, and, struck with shame and grief, he repented of the course he had taken.

Under the influence of these feelings he took an opportunity of addressing Brother Thomas on the morrow of the Ascension (May 14, 1333), at Westminster, and promised for love of Thomas, whose constancy in adversity he admired, to do his best to stop the persecution of the King and his nominee, and to settle matters with Sir Simon, if the Abbat and Convent would bind themselves to allow a reasonable stipend for a vicar to discharge the duty of the prebendary of Salehurst in the free chapel.

Thomas dissembled, and, *ore non corde*, treated Geoffrey's offer but lightly; yet, considering the doubtful issue of the recent proceedings, and the heavy expense of the suits at Avignon and in England, he promised to endeavour to persuade the Abbat and Convent to agree to the terms proposed, except as to a reconciliation with Sir Simon, which seemed to him dishonourable, having regard both to the knight's ingratitude and to the fact that by the judgment already referred to he had lost any possible rights he might have had in the subject matter of the dispute.

Master Geoffrey, however, urged the policy of coming to terms with Sir Simon as the best way of concluding the affair. The Abbat and Convent adopted the arrangement, and requested Thomas to carry it out.

Whence it came to pass that on Whit Sunday, after dinner (an appointment having been made by letter in the morning), the parties met in Sir Simon's chamber at Echingham, and agreed on the following articles of peace:—

Sir Simon was to have a present of 20 marks sterling; William de Echingham, a bastard son of the late Sir William, was to be given some respectable office, *servitium honestum*, or, in case of old age or infirmity, the victuals of a monk for life; and a stipend of 11 marks was to be settled by the convent on their vicar in the Castle of Hastings. This agreement was ratified by the oaths of Sir Simon for himself, of Geoffrey (who had been made Dean) for the Canons of Hastings, and of Brother Thomas as proctor for the Convent.

All parties agreed to seek peace with the King and Robert de Tanthone; but here fresh obstacles arose, for the Abbat, after he had been at home for a short time, was served, about Midsummer Day, with a fresh writ of *scire facias*, directed

by the King (still at the siege of Berwick, with Robert de Tanthone in his retinue), to the Sheriff of Sussex, commanding him to appear by the Octave of St. John Baptist, wherever the King might then be, to answer as to the letters patent of Edward II.

The Abbat having confessed and received the *viaticum* left Robertsbridge on the 22nd day of June, 1333 (*in prævigilia Sancti Johannis*), on his journey to York, taking with him Brother John of Battle, William of Stainyndenne, the Abbat's own brother, and others. They passed that night at Lamberhurst (on the borders of Kent and Sussex, where the abbey had some property), and the next at Bromley, and so on St. John's Day passing through London, the Abbat heard mass at the famous nunnery of Stratford-atte-Bowe (or Bromley, in Middlesex), and dined, I fear, too well, with the Abbat of the neighbouring Cistercian convent of Stratford. Immediately after dinner he returned in the great heat of the day to his inn near Gerscherche (Gracechurch?), where on entering his chamber he fell dead, most likely of apoplexy.\*

The two monks, his companions, as might well be supposed, were much grieved and alarmed. They sent an express to Robertsbridge, whence, after a hasty consultation with the advisers of the abbey, Brother Thomas of Battle was sent up to London. His first step was to find the Sheriff of Sussex, in order to ascertain whether he had returned the writ of *scire facias* with an endorsement of service or not, the convent being advised that if this had been done, and no appearance were put in for the Abbat, judgment would go by default.

After making search for the Sheriff all over London they found him somewhere in Kent, and learned that he had endorsed the writ and handed it to his sub-Sheriff for return. By gifts and entreaties Thomas obtained an amendment of the return certifying the death of the Abbat.

Brothers John and William started off for York to watch the proceedings, which ended in the abatement of all the suits in *scire facias* and *quare impedit*.

Meanwhile Thomas of Battle was left in London "*multo periculo intricatus*," and troubled by the rector of the parish where the Abbat died, who caused his palfrey to be seized as a mortuary by the officers of the Court of Arches. This seizure was discharged by finding security, but the palfrey was again detained by the bailiffs of the Sheriffs of London. This arrest it seems was also discharged, but

\* A marginal note "*Dñs Johannes de Lamberhurst Abbas diem clausit extremum*," supplies this Abbat's name. Note that his brother was called William of Stainynden.



the Londoners, fearing that by the abduction of the palfrey the rector would lose his rights, were filled with fury, and barricaded, "*vallaverunt*," the building where the palfrey and his master's corpse were housed.

The good monk was compelled to leave the palfrey in the custody of the master of the house, to remain there until the lawyers had determined to whom it belonged. He procured a two-wheeled carriage, "*quandam bigam*," and thereon with great difficulty brought the body down to Robertsbridge, where it was buried honourably before the steps of the presbytery, in presence of a worshipful company of the gentry, on the morrow of SS. Processus and Martinianus, July 3, 1333.

After some hesitation as to the policy of an immediate filling-up of the vacancy in the headship of the convent, the monks proceeded to an election on S. Appollinaris' Day, July 23, in the presence of the Cistercian Abbats of Boxley and Coggeshall. The choice of an Abbat fell on Brother John de Wormedale, monk and porter of the House.

The same year, 1333, the seventh of King Edward III., the new Abbat was summoned to York under a fresh writ of *scire facias* returnable on the morrow of the Nativity B. V. M. (September 9), alleging that the patents of both Kings had been fraudulently obtained. Brother John of Battle on this occasion went to York with the Abbat, who was interrogated before the Archbishop of York, then Keeper, Sir Geoffrey le Serop, Chief Justice, and others of the Council, as to how and by what right he had taken possession of a prebend of the King's chapel of the Castle of Hastings, he not being a Canon, and having neither a stall in choir nor a place in chapter as a Canon should have. An adjournment took place to the morrow of All Souls (November 3rd), for by the assistance of the friends made before the last Abbat's death, though against the strong opposition of the partizans of Sir Robert de Tanthone and his party, the Abbat was allowed to return home without any judgment given.

Before starting on his journey the Abbat had charged Brother Thomas of Battle to procure a ratification of the agreement with the Dean and Canons and the Echingham family. This he had been able to effect, but on slightly different terms, so that when the new Abbat came back from York the parties met at Robertsbridge, when Sir Simon's payment was altered from twenty to thirty marks, while the consideration given to William de Echingham was altered to a corrody of the victuals of a monk for life, wherever he might be, and without further condition. For these considerations Sir Simon released to the monks all his right in the churches and prebend. The 40s. stipend to be paid to the Vicar was altered for an undertaking to provide him with suitable stipend, commons,

and habit. The Abbat and his successors were to claim nothing in the chapel save the rights of a single Canon non-resident, according to the tenor of an indenture under the common seals of both Houses, afterwards confirmed, in the circumstances presently appearing, under the great seal.

About this time the King, we are told, with Robert de Tanthone in his suite, having left Scotland, arrived in the neighbourhood of London, and Master Geoffrey de Clare at once began negotiations with the latter, involving the journey of himself, the Abbat, and Brother Thomas, to Waltham Abbey, where the Court lay.<sup>a</sup>

They all arrived there on Michaelmas Day, and "*in maximâ angustâ cordium et corporum*," greatly put out, no doubt, by the thronged state of Waltham and the Abbey, and the difficulty of settling their business, stayed three days.

Their visit was not unsuccessful, for they came to an agreement with their adversary, which was soon afterwards ratified by the convent under their common seal. The terms were an annuity of four-score marks to be paid to Robert for life. The Abbat thought this hard, but Robert would take no less for withdrawing his opposition.

It was for the Abbat now to secure the position he had gained from disturbance on the part of the King; and the Dean of St. Mary's Chapel went down on this business to Windsor, where we may suppose the King then was, by appointment with Robert de Tanthone, to obtain from him letters under the Privy Seal, of which he seems, as already stated, to have been the keeper, directing the Chancery to settle the action in *scire facias*.

But here the Chancellor and the King's counsel interfered, and demanded of the Dean how the King was to have the service of his chapel secured if the Abbat were allowed to appropriate the prebend. The Dean produced the composition between his foundation and the abbey, but exception was taken to it on behalf of the King as insufficient, and the Chancellor, still John de Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, desired Master Geoffrey to attend him at his manor of Farnham shortly before All Saints Day to receive back the composition with amendments to be made in it.

A serious objection to this arrangement was shown to exist in the fact that the proceedings in *scire facias* were adjourned to the morrow of All Souls at York, where the Chancery was still kept, and that if the Abbat did not appear

<sup>a</sup> Instruments are dated from Waltham between September 30 and October 8, 1333. Rymer's *Fœdera*.



there judgment would go against him. To meet this difficulty a writ of Privy Seal was sent down to York by special messenger, "*velociter per cursorem*," to stay proceedings till Hilary Term.

The composition was amended to the satisfaction of the Chancellor and re-sealed by the parties, and at last Geoffrey and Thomas went off to York about St. Nicholas's Day, December 6, in desperate weather, "*maximè intemperie temporis*," with fresh privy seals for settling the dispute.

By order of the Chancellor and the King's Council letters under the great seal were passed as follows:—

1. Letters patent, now exhibited by Mr. Blunt, under the second great seal of Edward III. and dated at Chilterne, on November 6,<sup>a</sup> in the seventh year of his reign. This instrument recites Edward II.'s licence in mortmain, Sir William de Echingham's gift of the advowsons, and how the King had given licence by patent to the Abbat and Convent to appropriate the churches notwithstanding that they formed a prebend in the free chapel of Hastings; that subsequently the Abbat and Convent had been impeached before the King and his Council in the Chancery by reason that in the letters patent last mentioned there had been no mention whatever of the prebend of Salehurst, and because divers emoluments, as a stall in choir and a place in chapter, distributions, and other things besides the churches, belonged to that prebend, and for other causes. The King then, for as much as in him lay, granted his licence to the Abbat and Convent to appropriate to their own uses the prebend of Salehurst and the churches in question, and that the Abbat and his successors should be Canons of the said chapel, and he be admitted as a Brother by the Dean or Warden and the Chapter there, and should have stall in the choir and place in the chapter, as is usual, and without let or hindrance, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain.

2. A charter confirming the composition between the Dean and Canons and the Abbat and Convent.

3. Letters patent for installing the Abbat.

4. Writ close addressed to the Dean and Canons to the same effect.

These matters being accomplished, Brother Thomas, by reason of the near approach of Christmas, on the sixth day after leaving York, that is on Christmas Eve, separating from Master Geoffrey, arrived at Stratford Abbey, near London, and there spent the next day—the solemnity of Christmas constraining him. On St. Stephen's Day, having taken his meat with the Abbat, he went to London and slept there. Next morning he arose and journeyed home, arriving on the feast of

<sup>a</sup> Probably the date of the Privy Seal.

the Holy Innocents. He found his Brother John, of Battle, the cellarer, *in extremis*, and the following night at the hour of matins he died; and it is noted that Thomas succeeded him in his office.

On the last day of February, 1334, the Abbat, in the habit of a Canon, was formally installed in the first stall on the right side of the choir, being the stall belonging to the prebend of Salehurst, and a place in the chapter-house was assigned him by the Dean, in the presence and hearing of Sir Simon of Echingham and many notables of the country and town. Soon after the Rector of the "chapel" of Mountfield, one Willelmus Juvenis, resigning, the Abbat got possession of that church and a perpetual vicar was ordained.

Here the "Chronicle," the production very likely of Brother Thomas's own pen, ends, and with it the history of this litigation, protracted for not less than twenty-four years.

Among Mr. Blunt's other documents are several copies of papal bulls and privileges conceded to the Cistercian order, authenticated by way of *inspeximus* under episcopal or other official seals. They are interesting on account of these seals, the bulls themselves being for the most part well known.

At an early date the Cistercians obtained from successive Popes an exemption from paying tithe on the produce of lands tilled by their own hands, or at their expense, or on the increase of their live stock. The formula, which runs thus, "*Sane laborum<sup>a</sup> vestrorum quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolitis, sive de nutrimentis<sup>a</sup> vestrorum animalium, nullus à vobis presumat decimas exigere,*" occurs in the Bull of Eugenius III. dated in his eighth year (1152), printed in Beck's Annals of Furness, p. 136, in that of Pope Lucius III. c. 1184, as exemplified by Alexander IV. (Dugd. Mon. v. 232), and elsewhere.

Disputes seem to have arisen here and there between the tithe-owners and the monks as to the interpretation of this exemption, which the former party endeavoured to restrict to *novalia*, waste lands brought into cultivation by the monks after their occupation had commenced, and which previously being unproductive were not titheable. The Bull of Pope Lucius, just now referred to, settled this dispute in favour of the Cistercians, and one of the instruments under examination is to the same effect.

It is an exemplification under the seal of Roger de Fuldene, Archdeacon of Lincoln, dated at Spalding on Whitsun Eve, 1276, of a bull of Pope Innocent (probably Innocent III. 1198-1216), bearing date at the Lateran "*vº Kal. Aug.*

<sup>a</sup> See Ducange, *sub vocibus* "labores" et "nutrimentum."



*Pontificatus nostri anno septimo*," commanding the observance of the indulgences as to tithes granted by his predecessors and confirmed by himself, and that not merely as to "*novalia*" but also as to lands anciently tilled.

The seal of the Archdeacon is appended to this instrument. It is of the pointed oval form,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  by 1 inch.

The subject is the Blessed Virgin, a three-quarter figure, with the divine infant in a niche under a decorated canopy. Beneath, under a five-foiled arch, an ecclesiastic in adoration. Legend, not quite perfect—

S. ROGERI ARCHID LINCO [LNIENSIS].

From an indorsement, "*Suyneshefd, De nutrimentis animalium*," we may gather that this authentic copy was originally made for the convent of Swineshead, a Cistercian house in Lincolnshire. How it came into the archives of Robertsbridge cannot now be known, but the intercourse between the monasteries of one order was constant, and the document may have been borrowed to produce in an ecclesiastical court, or have been carelessly exchanged for the Robertsbridge copy.

The next bull is on the same subject. Its author was Pope Honorius III. (1216-1227). It is dated from the Lateran, "*vii<sup>o</sup> Kal. Julii pontificatus nostri anno sexto*," and will be found printed (from the Register of Kirkstall Abbey) at p. 536 of the fifth volume of the *Monasticon*.

It recites the 55th canon of the fourth Lateran Council, held under Innocent III. 1216,<sup>a</sup> embodying an agreement come to by the Cistercian Abbats at the time of the Council to pay tithe on lands tilled by themselves, if purchased after that date. Disputes having again arisen, the Pope, Honorius, determines that the "*novalia*" in every case were to be tithe-free, as were also all gardens, shrubberies, and fisheries, and the produce of animals. This latter exemption was highly important to the Cistercians, who, as is well known, were extensive sheep-farmers.<sup>b</sup>

The copy exhibited of this bull is exemplified at the request of the Abbat and convent of Boxley, in Kent, under the seal of Richard, Bishop of Rochester. The exemplification is without date; but the Bishop in question must be Richard of Wendover, who held the see of Rochester from 1235 to 1250.

The seal is broken. When perfect it was about 3 inches by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in size. The subject is the usual effigy of the Bishop, *in pontificalibus*, with the hand raised in benediction. On either side is a sunken six-foiled panel, inclosing a head; beneath each panel a capital R.

<sup>a</sup> To be found Decretal. lib. iii. tit. xxx. (De Decimis) cap. xxiv. Nuper Abbates.

<sup>b</sup> There is another bull of Honorius to the same effect, printed in the *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 232, No. x.

Legend—

[SIGILLUM] RICARDI [DEI GRACIA ROFFENS]IS EPISCOPI.

The counterseal is pointed, oval in form, about 2 inches by 1 inch. It exhibits on a roundel St. Andrew on his cross; above his head is the divine hand.

Legend—

+ ME · IVVET · ANDRE[AS QVEM] VINXIT · E . . REAs .

The letters in brackets from another example, also imperfect.

In the fifth volume of the *Monasticon*, at page 234, a bull is printed with the following heading, which correctly gives the purport of the instrument :

*"Privilegium Innocentii Quarti Papæ, quod non debent Monachi Cistercienses vocari ad capitula vel conventus forenses, aut Provinciale Forum, etiam ratione delicti, nisi pro fide tantum."*

A copy of this bull, which bears date at the Lateran, "*xii. Kal. Mart. pontificatus nostri anno primo*" (February 18, 1244), is among the Robertsbridge documents. It is exemplified under the seal of Richard de la Wyehe, Bishop of Chichester, 1245-53, and after his death canonized, the letters being addressed to all archdeacons, deans, and chaplains in his diocese, and concluding with an injunction for the observation of the papal privilege throughout the diocese, under pain of ecclesiastical censure.

The seal and counterseal are here figured, the latter giving an early example of the figure of the Saviour enthroned, which afterwards became, under the strange



SEAL AND COUNTERSEAL OF ST. RICHARD DE LA WYCHE, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.



disguise of "Prester John," the armorial bearings of the see of Chichester. The seal is preserved in an oval pouch of soft leather, originally lined with a silken stuff, of which some fragments remain.

There is in the collection a second exemplification of this bull, issued by the same Bishop under his seal, at the express request of the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge. This copy is endorsed thus: "Quod sentencie contra nos illate absque speciali mandato Domini Pape sunt irritae ac inanes."

Two more of these papal privileges remain to be noticed. The first is from Alexander IV. addressed to the Abbats and Convents of the Cistercian order throughout England, granting on their petition the indulgence that thenceforward they should not be bound or compelled to pay to any one tithes of hay harvested from their own meadows or woods or lands, whether acquired before or after the General Council, *id est*, the fourth of Lateran already referred to. This bull is dated at Anagni "*xiiii. cal. Sept. Pontificatus nostri anno primo*" (Aug. 19, 1255).

This is exemplified under the seal of John (Clipping), Bishop of Chichester, 1253-61, and is written in a fine hand, resembling, or perhaps imitating, that used in the Roman Chancery.

The seal is a fragment of an episcopal effigy, on the sinister side of which are the numerals II<sup>o</sup>, for *secundus*, clearly identifying the owner as the second Bishop of the name, the first being John Greenford, 1173. The counterseal is also imperfect, but it appears to be the same as that of this Bishop's immediate predecessor, Richard, figured on the preceding page, with an altered legend, of which the letters

[man]DATORVM TVORVM

are all that remain.

The last of these instruments emanated from Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Cardinal of the Roman Church.<sup>a</sup> By it he intimates that he has received the mandate of the Pope (Honorius III.), which he sets out at length. It is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, and to all Abbats, Priors, and other prelates of that province. After complaining in general terms of the neglect of spiritual authority as evidenced in the maltreatment of religious persons, and particularly of those privileged by the Apostolic See, he refers specially to the case of the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge, who had complained to him both of frequent injuries and daily denial of justice, and had prayed letters apostolic, addressed to the Archbishops, &c., exhorting them

<sup>a</sup> Archbishop, 1206 ; Cardinal, 1212 or 1213 ; ob. 1228.

to protect them in their troubles. Wherefore the Pope commanded those to whom the letter was addressed, that as to those persons who might have irreverently invaded the possessions, goods, or houses of the brethren, or their tenants, or who might have unjustly detained from them property left them by will, or who should have presumed to promulgate sentence of excommunication, or of interdict, against the brethren themselves, contrary to their indulgences from the Apostolic See, or to extort from them tithes of their cultivated lands, held before the General Council, or their live stock,—after service of a monition, if they were laymen, they should strike them with a sentence of excommunication publicly, and with lighted candles; if clerks, regular canons, or monks, they should suspend them without appeal from office and benefice, neither sentence to be relaxed until full satisfaction had been made to the brethren. Any laies or clerks secular, who, on account of laying violent hands on the monks or their goods, should have been involved in the bonds of an anathema, were to approach the Apostolic See with letters from their diocesan to obtain absolution. The towns where any goods of the brethren were forcibly detained were to be interdicted. Given at Orvieto, “*vii. Id. Novembris Pontificatus nostri anno quarto*” (November 7, 1219). The Archbishop therefore commands all within his province to cause the privileges in question to be observed, punishing by ecclesiastical censures those who resisted.

A fragment of Langton’s episcopal seal remains appended. The seal is not unknown, and is rendered remarkable by the insertion of a gem beneath the feet of the effigy. The present impression does not clearly show the subject of the engraved stone.

The counterseal, representing the martyrdom of S. Thomas of Canterbury, is also imperfect.

The legend, restored from other examples, runs thus:—

[MO]RS EXP[RESSA · FORIS · TIBI · VITA · SIT · INTVS · AMORIS.]

There is a second copy of this bull of Pope Honorius in Mr. Blunt’s collection, exemplified by Richard de la Wyche, Bishop of Chichester, under his seal already given. All Archdeacons, &c., in the diocese are commanded to give effect to it.

Mr. Cooper, at page 159 of his notices of the Abbey, mentions this bull, which he says is recited in two of the Penshurst MSS. and he gives an instance where, in 1223, the Abbat of Lesnes and the Prior of Rochester, acting under the mandate of the Pope, condemned a layman, William de Pertlington, in damages for disobedience to its provisions.

A similar proceeding under a Papal commission is recorded in one of the documents now under consideration.



This is an undated instrument, under the seals of W. (William) Abbat of Cumbwell (Combwell in Kent) and L. Prior of Ledes, which recites the text of letters apostolic of Pope Innocent IV. addressed to them, whereby it appearing that the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge had been sued for tithes of lands tilled at their own expense (contrary to their privileges) by Thomas, Rector of Salehurst, and other clerks of Chichester diocese, the Pope commanded the Abbat and Prior to compel the rector and others to desist from such exaction under ecclesiastical censure—after a previous monition—and without appeal. These letters bore date at Rome at St. Peter's, "*xiii. kl. Marcii, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo*" (Feb 17, 1250). By virtue of which letters the Abbat and Prior had cited John, Chaplain of the church of Sedelescumbe, after previous commonition, peremptorily once, twice, and thrice. He had not appeared, but had contumaciously absented himself. Wherefore, by the advice of prudent and discreet persons acting as assessors to them, the Abbat and Prior decreed that John was not to extort tithe contrary to the privilege, commanding him to observe perpetual silence in that behalf.

Two seals are attached.

1. Pointed oval.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. Effigy of an Abbat in a cope, bareheaded; a pastoral staff in left hand, book in right hand. Legend—

+ SIGILLVM WILLELMI ABBATIS DE COMBWELLA.

2. Circular. Slightly oval; 1 inch long. Gem in metal setting. A head in profile of inferior work. Legend—

+ CAVE CAV ... GE

I have inserted in the Appendix C a transcript of a lengthy document contained in a roll of parchment about fifteen inches long by six wide, being the record of an award made in February (1244), 9 Henry III. between the Abbat and Convent of Battle and that of Robertsbridge touching some marshland, Grykes Marsh, which appears to have lain in or near the now nearly submerged parish of Broomhill (or Promhelle, as it is sometimes spelt), situate between Rye and Lydd. Our monastery had apparently a good deal of land here, but as Mr. Cooper, p. 149, *ubi supra*, observes, the great storm of 1287, which destroyed Old Winchelsea, was equally destructive in this direction.

This award was made by six arbitrators, chosen no doubt from the neighbours, with whom was associated as umpire the Abbat of Begheham, or Bayham, a house of the Premonstratensian order, of which some account is given by the Rev. G. M. Cooper, in vol. ix. of the Sussex Archæological Collections. It contains some provisions as to the maintenance of the embankments and watercourses on the property dealt with which are worth attention.

The controversy between Battle and Robertsbridge appears not to have been entirely ended by the award, for in Trinity Term, 7 Edward I. thirty-four years afterwards, the Abbat of Robertsbridge impleaded the Abbat of Battle for usurping the suits of court due to the King from tenants of the plaintiff's monastery in Greykes and Broomhill, when the Abbat of Battle obtained judgment in his favour.<sup>a</sup>

For the sake of the seal, which is a good example of the conventional style of drawing of the first half of the thirteenth century, we may notice a deed-poll without date, whereby William son of Eilwin, of Promhelle, testifies a sale to the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge of all his land at Promhelle (Broomhill) in meadows and pastures, and waters in fresh and in salt. To wit, from the boundary of Kent (*a meta Cancie*) to the port of Winchelesse, by the road leading before the house of Osbert, son of Walter de Promhelle, between the arable land and "*Galegiam*" as far as to the sea, and from that road to the land of Dame Albreda, de Gerpunville and the tenement of Deingemareis, with the appurtenances, save the moiety of the turbary which the convent had granted him for the use of his household without waste, *ad usagium domus mee sine gasto*. To wit, the fifteenth part of the entire holding, against all co-parceners of that land of Promhelle within these bounds, with pasture at Bulemers, for twelve mares of silver paid by the convent. With clause of warranty. Witnesses: Osbert and Thomas, sons of Walter de Promhelle; Osbert and Roger, sons of Robert de Promhelle; Hugh Long, Robert son of Alan of Robertsbridge; Helyas Foleth, Ralph de Ferne, and many others.



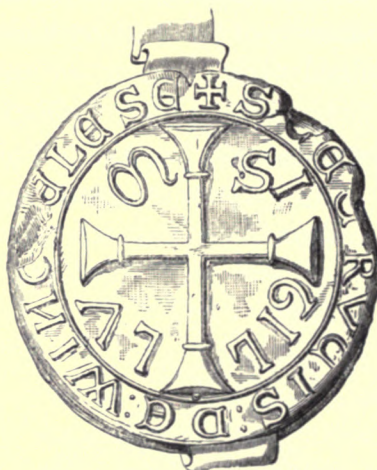
SEAL OF WILLIAM OF BROOMHILL.

<sup>a</sup> Abbrev. Placitorum, 196, col. 2.



I may next call attention to a deed-poll whereby the brethren of the Hospital of the Holy Cross of Winchenesel give, grant, and confirm to Roger, son of Edwin of Bremer, and his heirs, four perches of land opposite the house of Gilbert de Stonlinke, towards the sea, lying in length of four perches towards the east, next the road leading from Winchenesel towards the house of St. Cross, and so much width for constructing his buildings towards the sea as others his neighbours have or shall have. To hold of the grantors and their successors, to him and his heirs, freely and peaceably, sending eighteen pence per annum, nine pence on the feast of St. Thomas Apostle, nine pence on Easter Eve, for all service. With clause of warranty. For this gift Roger gave eighteen shillings "in gersumam." Witnesses: Gervase Plantefolie, Robert Fostre, Geruase son of Reginald, Valentine de Aldenex, Simon vicar of Udimere, and many others.

The seal, engraved below, is curious. The cross recalls the form of that on an ancient seal of the city of Carlisle.



SEAL OF THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, AT WINCHELSEA.

Mr. Durrant Cooper, in his History of Winchelsea, mentions more than once the Hospital of the Holy Rood, or St. Cross, which seems to have been removed after the inundation from the neighbourhood of the sea to that of the new town. The deed here abstracted may be referred to the middle of the thirteenth century, and so probably relates to land since submerged.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Michael of Tréport (*Ulteris portus*, or sometimes *Uterior portus*), at the mouth of the Bresle, was founded by Robert, Count of Eu, about the time of the Norman Conquest. This nobleman and his son William obtained large possessions in England, of the gift of William the Con-



queror. The only portion of these which he bestowed by his charter of foundation<sup>a</sup> on the abbey was land specified as follows: "*In Anglia do Bonitone, et quicquid ad eam pertinet, in terris, in hospitibus et cæteris rebus.*" Here we recognise the Domesday vill of Bolinton in Bexlei Hundred, where the Abbey of Tréport (*Abbatia de Ultresport*) held of the Earl three hides less two virgates. The whole land was five hides.<sup>b</sup> This place is identified by the Sussex antiquaries with the modern Bulverhythe, two miles from Bexhill, not very far from the Abbey of Robertsbridge.<sup>c</sup>

Henry III. by a charter dated June 8, anno 37, at Westminster, produced before the Barons of the Exchequer, 17 Edward II.<sup>d</sup> confirmed *inter alia* to the Abbat and Convent all the lands which they held of the Abbat and Convent of Tréport, to wit, Bulintone, Peplesham, Pleydenne, and Stande (*sic*).

These, it is evident, had been sold at an early date by the French to the English monastery, for by an indented deed in the collection, dated 13 kal. Novembris

<sup>a</sup> The foundation charter of this abbey was first printed by D'Achery in his observations on cap. v. lib. ii. of the autobiography of Guibert Abbat of Nogent (Ven. Guiberti Abbatis Opera, Paris, 1651, p. 631), from which source it has been copied in Gallia Christiana, vol. iii. p. 955 (old Edn.), and in Neustria Pia, p. 587. D'Achery's transcript is certainly wrong in the date which appears there as "anno millesimo tricesimo sexto," because the Count says that he founded the Abbey with the advice of William, Duke of Normandy, and of Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, whose episcopate did not begin till 1055. It is however a little difficult to assign the true date. The gift by a Comte d'Eu of land in Sussex must imply a precedent gift to himself, and this could hardly have been from any one but the Conqueror, and therefore not before 1066. Hence we might read "*sexagesimo sexto*," and, as Maurilius lived till 1067, and there is no hint that he was dead at the date of the charter, 1066 may be right. But if so it is somewhat singular that William is styled in the Charter Duke of Normandy only, and not also King of England. The Editors of *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates* notice the mistake of the date made by D'Achery, and put the foundation of the abbey between 1057 and 1066, guided apparently by the years of the episcopate of Maurilius. The charter, I may observe, confirms to the abbey, *inter alia*, "de dono Goifredi filii Reinoldi de Sancto Martino Jaillardo decimam de terris hominum suorum quam habebat in dominio suo, et apud S. Martinum, et apud Setot et apud Merlineampum." St. Martin-le-Gaillard is a village on the little river Yerés, which runs into the sea a few miles W. by S. of the Bresle, and Criel, Dragueville, Melincamp, St. Aignan, Avesnes, and Baromesnil are places in its immediate vicinity. All these names occur (in mediæval spelling) as local surnames of the witnesses to Geoffrey de St. Martin's charter, Appendix No. II., and I think we may infer that this Goifredus de Sancto Martino Jaillardo was the ancestor of Geoffrey and Alured, and that the town whence their surname was derived was S. Martin-le-Gaillard, and not one of the other St. Martins, of which more than one will be found on the map of this corner of Normandy.

<sup>b</sup> Domesd. i. 18, Suss. Terra Comitum de Ow.

<sup>c</sup> Horsfield's Sussex, i. 431.

<sup>d</sup> MS. Add. 28,550.



(October 20), 1249, Laurence, Abbat of Tréport (*Uterior portus*), and the Convent there, and William, Abbat of Robertsbridge, and the Convent there, agree that the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge shall pay yearly nine marcs sterling of lawful money to the Abbat and Convent of Tréport as they anciently were wont, according to the tenor of an ancient charter; and shall preserve them indemnified from every plea, transaction, and warranty which Laurence, Abbat of Tréport, made to the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge at Westminster before the justices of the Lord the King of England in respect of the lands which they (Robertsbridge) hold of them in the rape of Hastings. And, if the Abbat of Tréport be in the mercy of the Lord the King by reason of the warranty aforesaid, the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge shall faithfully acquit him, so that the Abbat and Convent of Tréport shall be ready and prepared, so far as they may and know, to assist and succour the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge (when they shall be required and warned by them) to recover at law plenary possession and seisin of the lands which they hold of them by the service of nine marcs. In such manner that, when the Abbat of Tréport shall come into England, the Abbat and Convent of Robertsbridge will provide for him and his as to their expenses so long as they shall stay in England on the business aforesaid. Both parties, therefore, promised *in verbo Dei* to observe faithfully the premises.

This indenture is under the following seals:—

1. Oval, 2 inches by  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch. Bareheaded Abbat in alb and chasuble. Pastoral staff in right hand, book in left.

Legend—

+ S. LAURENTII : ABB'IS : DE : VLTRI PORTV

Counterseal, 1 inch in diameter. Nimbed angel, three-quarter length, holding censer.

+ SECRETVM MEVM MICHI

2. Oval, 3 inches by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches. St. Michael, with shield and sword, standing on the dragon. Legend—

+ [ULTE]RIS PORTVS . SIG[NU]M ?] MICHAELIS HABETVR.

This must have been a very fine seal. The impression is, unfortunately, blurred, but is sufficiently perfect to show that the figure of the archangel was unusually bold and spirited.

The counterpart of the foregoing deed, under the official seal of the Abbat of

Robertsbridge (without counterseal), as figured in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, viii. 171, is also in Mr. Blunt's possession.

Omitting several deeds of small parcels of land, part of the convent possessions, which neither on account of their contents nor for the beauty of the seals are worth particular description in this place, we come finally to a very finely written charter without date, whereby William de Wynchelese, son of the late William de Orewelle, gave to God and Saint Mary and the Abbats and Convents of Robertsbridge and Boxle all the land with buildings and other appurtenances which he had in Little Yarmouth (*parva Gernemoþe*), lying between the land of Master Henry and the land of John Knave, in length eastwards as far as the harbour, with such a portion towards the Port as the next neighbours (*convicini*) take; westward as far as Dey, so much as the other neighbours take; in breadth as far as that land extends. To hold free and quit of all secular service and custom for ever, saving an annual rent of ninepence at Michaelmas to the chief lord with clause of warranty. "In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto, una cum communi sigillo venerabilium Baronum de Wynchelse ad petitionem utriusque partis procurato, sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Henrico Alardi de Wynchelese, Bartholomeo Godarde, Roberto Pauli, Johanne fratre ejus, Stephano le Gric, Johanne Andree, Gaufrido Helye, Ada Clerico, Willelmo Almã de Gernemoþe, Henrico fratre ejus, Thoma de Beltune, Symone Karoli, Johanne Knave et aliis." <sup>a</sup>

The seals to this deed are not without interest.

The first is that of William of Winchelsea himself, and from it we may conclude that he was engaged in what was in his day, as it is now, the staple trade of Yarmouth, the herring fishery.

It is circular, one inch in diameter. The device is three herrings in fess, strung on a rod or tightened string; in fact in the process of curing. The legend is not very clear. It probably reads--

S. WILLELMI [FILII W. DE WINCHELSE].

The second seal is that of the Barons of Winchelsea, engraved at p. 21 of the first volume of the *Sussex Archæological Transactions*.

With regard to the obverse, a ship with a small shield of the arms of England under the yard, and with the legend *Sigillum Baronum Domini Regis Anglie de Winchellese*, there is nothing to be said: the reverse however deserves more attention.

The subject of this side of the seal is architectural, and is probably an attempt to represent in a conventional manner the two principal churches of the town, those

<sup>a</sup> The patronymic forms are worth notice



of St. Giles and St. Thomas, side by side, with a central tower, whereon a warder or light-keeper stands and exhibits a lantern for the benefit of the seafarers. The waves wash the foot of the buildings, intended most likely for burghers' houses, in front of the churches. On the sinister side there are three, on the dexter two, open panels, the first set containing a group representing the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the second having, in the plate above referred to, and in all casts of the seal that I have seen, St. Giles seated, with the hind springing to his lap to implore protection, *twice repeated*. The ancient impression to the charter now under notice replaces the outer group by another, showing the huntsman, armed with bow and arrow, shooting at the hind.

Here we have indubitably the original state of the seal. How the archer and hind came to be lost, and to be replaced as in the present modern reverse (copied when the matrix was lost—in an election squabble it is said—in the last century, from old impressions which must have shown the same substitution), deserves inquiry at the hands of the Winchelsea antiquaries.

Mr. Durrant Cooper has reproduced the plate from the *Sussex Transactions* in his *History of Winchelsea*, p. 199, and he observes that the three chevrons which appear on a banner flying from a staff on the top of the tower are for Lewknor, one of the owners of the lands when the new town was building.

The legend—

EGIDIO · THOME · PLEBS · LAVDUM · CANTICA PROME  
NE · SIT · IN · ANGARIA · GR X · SUUS AMNE · VIA

has, I think, needlessly, caused much discussion as to its meaning. I should translate it—

Pour forth, ye people, songs of praise to Giles as well as Thomas,  
So that their flock by sea and land may scape from deadly peril.

There are several miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury of saving life at sea in storms recorded in the list of his miracles, printed in *Materials for the History of St. Thomas à Becket*, Rolls Series, 1875, i. 299, &c.; and in the *Miracula beati Egidii*, *apud* Pertz, *Monumenta* (Scriptores, xii. 316-23), more than one instance occurs of the virtues of Saint Giles in delivering captives. The reference in the legend to perils by sea and land may, perhaps, be thus explained.

From the documents of which I have now concluded the examination, still further additions may be made to the list of Abbats of Robertsbridge, given by Mr. Cooper, *Sussex Arch. Trans.* viii. 170, who was enabled considerably to enlarge the series printed in the *Monasticon*.

In the following list Mr. Cooper's additions are marked \*, while the names and dates to which † is prefixed are derived chiefly from the instruments referred to in the present paper.



ABBATS OF ROBERTSBRIDGE.

	A.D.
Dionysius—probably the first Abbat . . . . .	about 1184
* William . . . . .	1197
John—afterwards Prior of Boxley . . . . .	in 1216
† William . . . . .	occ. 1244 and 1249
Walter . . . . .	1261
† Roger . . . . .	occ. 1263, <sup>a</sup> and 1277 <sup>b</sup>
† Mainardus <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	before 1293
Thomas . . . . .	1293
Robert . . . . .	about 1300
† Laurence . . . . .	occ. 1309
† John de Wallyngfelde . . . . .	el. Sep <sup>r</sup> . 8 1311
Nicholas . . . . .	(† occ. March 29, 1319) 1320
* Alan . . . . .	about 1327
† John de Lamberhurst . . . . .	ob. June 24 1333
John † de Wormedale . . . . .	† el. July 23 1333
	[occ. 1340
* Dionysius . . . . .	1400
John . . . . .	1410
John (not the same, says Mr. Cooper), for in 1417-18 the Abbat	
is spoken of as “nuper defuncti” . . . . .	
	1436
* John Goodwin . . . . .	1507
Thomas Tayler . . . . .	1534

<sup>a</sup> From a charter Saturday next after Feast of S. Luke, 47 Hen. III., manumitting a villein. Eg. Chart. 394. Brit. Mus.

<sup>b</sup> From Catalogue, Battle Abbey Charters, p. 49.

<sup>c</sup> Named in a charter of Edw. I. June 10, Anno Regni 21, produced before Barons of Exchequer 17 Edw. II.—Add. MS. 28,550, fo. 9.

The common seal and counterseal of the Abbey of Robertsbridge have been figured twice, namely, in vol. i. of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, pl. lx. and in illustration of Mr. Cooper's paper, *Sussex Arch. Trans.* viii. 143, from which source it is repeated in the *Archæological Journal*, xiii. 194.

The official seal of the Abbat, together with a counterseal, a hand holding a cross, with the legend *SIGNVM SECRETI*, is also engraved (as already stated) at p. 171 of the eighth volume of *Sussex Arch. Trans.* These cuts also are repeated in the *Archæological Journal*.

NOTE.—Since the above paper was read, the whole of Mr. Blunt's charters have been acquired by the British Museum, and will be found among the Egerton Charters, 371-403.



## APPENDIX.

## No. I. [Brit. Mus. Egerton Ch. 372.]

Ricardus Dei gracia Rex Angl' Dux Norm' Aquit' Comes And' Archiepiscopis Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus et Omnibus Baillivis et fidelibus suis Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Aluredo de Sancto Martino Dapifero nostro concessionem et donationem quam Henricus Comes Augi fecit ipsi Aluredo coram Domino Rege patre nostro post mortem Aelicie matris sue ad petitionem ipsius Aluredi et aliorum amicorum ipsius Comitis de terris de maritagio ipsius matris sue, scilicet de Eleham et Bensintone, quas idem Comes concessit ipsi Aluredo cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, tota vita sua tenendas, excepta presentatione ecclesie in qua persona ad presentationem Comitis instituetur, si contigerit eam Aluredo vivente vacare, secundum quod in carta Domini Regis patris nostri et carta prefati Comitis continetur. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod idem Aluredus terras illas habeat et teneat quamdiu vixerit bene et in pace liberè et quietè integrè plenariè et honorificè. In Bosco et plano. In pratis et pascuis. In aquis et molendinis. In vivariis et stagnis et mariscis. In viis et semitis, et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad eas pertinentibus. Cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis excepta presentatione ecclesie sicut prefatus Comes ei concessit et sicut carta eius testatur. Testibus: H. Dunelmensi, H. Coventrensi, H. Sarisberienensi episcopis, W. de Sancto Johanne, Johanne Marescallo, Willelmo Marescallo, Rogero de Pratellis, Gaufrido filio Petri, Roberto de Witefeld. Dat. per manum Willelmi de Longo Campo Cancellarii nostri Elyensis electi apud Cantuariam xxx<sup>mo</sup>. die Novembris Anno Primo Regni Nostri.

Under the first seal of Rich. I. Sandf. p. 55. Slightly broken, but otherwise in fine condition.

## No. II. [Brit. Mus. Egerton Ch. 371.]

Sciant qui sunt quique futuri sunt quod ego Gaufridus de Sancto Martino donavi et concessi in fedo [*sic*] et hereditate Alvredo de Sancto Martino et suis heredibus totam meam terram de Anglia quam teneo de comite Augi, scilicet terram de Warilanda cum omnibus suis pertinentiis



sive in bosco seu in plano in terris in pratis in mareis et in omnibus rebus quecunque ad terram predictam pertinent, ita tenendam et habendam de me et de meis heredibus ipse et sui heredes sicut unquam melius et liberius pater meus in vita sua tenuit reddendo mihi servitium unius militis. Pro hac vero donatione et concessione Alvredus predictus clamavit mihi totam suam terram quam de me tenebat ubicunque sit quietam liberam et absolutam. Preterea Alvredus prefatus reddidit mihi et donavit quicquid tenebat de camerario in molendino de Salchewilla.<sup>a</sup> Et concessit mihi quicquid tenebat de Thoma de Mareis et de suis heredibus apud Augustam<sup>b</sup> et ubicunque aliquid de eis tenebat. Et preter hec donavit mihi xl marcas argenti



SEAL OF JOHN, EARL OF EU.

pro supradicta donatione ["et conventionione ut firmitus et fidelius teneatur in perpetuum."]<sup>c</sup> Huic vero convencioni et donationi atque concessioni interfuit Johannes Comes Augi, in presentia cui[us] hoc factum est, et multi alii scilicet Thomas de Augo, Wido de Avesnes, Ricardus de Dragwilla, Walterus de Sancto Aniano, Robertus de Tillol, Reginaldus de Dodeuill, Willelmus de Dodeuill, Radulfus Ponteil, Vilardus de Merlineamp, Amillus de Sancto Marco, Gaufridus de Bernou-Maisnil, Simon de Criolio, Willelmus de Basoe'. Ego autem Gaufridus precor regem et comitem autem [sic] quatinus hanc conventionem firmiter tenere faciant. Facta est autem hec concessio

<sup>a</sup> Sacqueville, five miles south of Dieppe(?). <sup>b</sup> Oust Mareis, close to Eu. <sup>c</sup> Written over an erasure.



atque donatio Anno dominico incarnationis m.c.l.x.i. eodem anno quo Rex Frane' et Rex Anglorum pacificati sunt. Magister autem tunc capellanus Comitis hanc cartulam scripsit. Vale.



SEAL OF GEOFFREY DE ST. MARTIN.

No. III. [Brit. Mus. Egerton Ch. 373.]

Sefridus dei gratia Cicestrensis episcopus universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis eternam in Christo salutem. Viros religiosos pastoralis tenemur sollicitudine promovere et paci eorum ac quieti quantum nobis possibile est attentius providere. Inde est quod nos dilectos filios nostros abbatem de Ponte Roberti et fratres suos monachos regulam beati Benedicti atque institutionem Cisterciensium fratrum profitentes sub protectione Dei et ecclesie Cicestrensis ac nostrae suscipientes quascunque possessiones quecunque bona in presentiarum juste et canonice possident aut in futurum quibuscunque justis modis prestante Domino poterint adipisci, eam quam fungimur auctoritate eis in perpetuum confirmamus. Specialiter vero totum feodum Pontis Roberti et ubi ecclesia eorumdem fratrum sita est quod dilectus filius noster Aluredus de Sancto Martino fundator illius domus eis dedit in perpetuam elemosinam cum parco et domibus et universis pertinentiis suis cum terris cultis et bosco et plano [&c.] sicut carta ejusdem Aluredi testatur. Totam quoque terram quam idem Aluredus tenuerat in feudofirma (sic) de canonicis Sancte Marie de Hastings reddendo annuatim vi solidos pro omni servicio Terram quoque quam idem Aluredus habuerat inter Winchelese et Clivesende cum domibus suis sicut idem Aluredus ea eis concessit et dedit. Terram quoque de Farleia et terram Geneolini et terram de Poeclesherse quas memoratus Aluredus propriis sumptibus comparatas eis dedit et confirmavit. Libertates etiam et immunitates quarumlibet consuetudinum quas illustris rex Anglorum Henricus Secundus regia largitate eis concessit et carta sua confirmavit. Statuimus igitur et eam quam fungimur auctoritate prohibemus

ne quis eosdem fratres super prescriptis possessionibus suis temere turbare vel inquietare presumat, aut quibuscunque vexationibus vel molestiis ullatenus infestare aut libertatibus et immunitatibus ab apostolica celsitudine sibi indultis audeat contrarie. Quod si quis facere presumpserit nisi commonitus congrue satisfecerit et emendaverit, divine ultieni et ecclesie Cicestrensis indignationi se noverit subiacere.

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No. IV. [Brit. Mus. Egerton Ch. 375.]

Noverint universi ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit quod cum super multis articulis controversia esset inter Radulphum Abbatem et Conventum de Bello ex una parte et Willelmum Abbatem et Conventum de Ponte Roberti ex altera, tandem compromiserunt in arbitros sub-scriptos, videlicet in Willelmum de la Dune, Henricum Boydiner, Henricum de Gevingetone, Galfridum de Saxingherst, Simonem de Brunford, Ricardum de Meridale et in Abbatem de Begheham arbitrum principalem sub hac forma.

Ita Convenit inter Abbatem et Conventum de Bello et Abbatem et Conventum de Ponte Roberti quod compromiserunt in tales videlicet [*sequuntur nomina arbitrorum ut supra*] de omnibus querelis inter eos propositis vel proponendis coram predictis arbitris perpetuo terminandis. Et si Abbas et Conventus de Bello noluerint stare arbitrio predictorum virorum concesserunt quod Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti habeant totam terram quam habent tam in veteri quam in novo mariseo sine contradiceione vel reclamacione Abbatis et Conventus de Bello. Si vero Abbas (&c.) de Ponte Roberti noluerint stare arbitrio predictorum virorum sicut dictum est, concesserunt quod Abbas (&c.) de Bello habeant totam terram in novo incluso quod est de feodo dictorum Abbatis (&c.) de Bello sine contradiceione vel reclamacione dictorum Abbatis et Conventus de Ponte Roberti. Quod si aliquis de arbitris Abbatis de Bello interesse non poterit, substituat alium quem voluerit, et ita faciat Abbas de Ponte Roberti. Si vero principalis arbiter noluerit vel non potuerit interesse, eligatur alius de consensu utriusque partis. Heec omnia predicta fideliter et sine fraude conservanda utraque pars bonâ fide promisit. Et ad maiorem securitatem tam Abbas et Conventus de Bello quam Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti sigilla sua huic scripto apposuerunt. Datum Anno Regni Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis vicesimo octavo mense Januarii in die Conversionis Sancti Pauli.

Auditis igitur hinc inde propositis et utriusque partis responsionibus, dicti arbitri arbitrati sunt in hunc modum, videlicet ut convencio que facta fuit apud Neddrefeld inter dictas partes et in scriptis redacta de terra de Wicham cum pertinenciis et novo incluso in mariseo de Grykes perpetuam habeat firmitatem, excepto quod de relevio et secta curio sive de aliis rebus que de dicta terra possent evenire Abbati (&c.) de Ponte Roberti vel successoribus suis nulla fiat recompensacio nisi pro redditu duorum solidorum, et pro terris que fuerunt Ricardi le Venur, Jacobi de Sedelescumbe, et Petronelle de Sedelescumbe; de quarum terrarum redditu, relevio, herietto, secta, vel alia escaeta, nunquam fiat recompensacio. Pro remissione vero et quieta clamantia dicti relevii et aliarum eschaettarum dicte terre de Wicham Abbas (&c.) de



Bello remiserunt dietis Abbati (&c.) de Ponto Roberti et successoribus suis sectam curie quam do ipso Abbate exigebant ratione terrarum quas de ipsis tenent in marisco de Grykes. Remiserunt etiam et quietum clamaverunt dietis Abbati (&c.) de Ponte Roberti et successoribus suis sectam curie quam exigebant ad Lageday de tenentibus dicti Abbatis de Ponte Roberti in feodo Abbatis de Bello, videlicet de Hugone Burgeys, Willelmo Burgeys, Nicholao Spirewiġ, Thoma Batur, Boidino fil' Burgeue, Vincentio de Popleshers, Willelmo filio Martini, Martino Batur, Roberto Fos, Hamone Leurich, Nicholao Leurich, Simone Edulphi, Elya Braynwod, Radulpho filio Ricardi, et heredibus ipsorum tenentium. Itaque si processu temporis plura fiant edificia in terris Abbatis de Ponto Roberti quas habet de feodo Abbatis de Bello, commorantes in eisdem sequantur euriam Abbatis de Bello ad Lageday facientes cum hominibus dicti Abbatis de Bello per omnia secundum quod continetur in libertatibus ejusdem Abbatis de Bello. Prenominati vero tenentes et heredes sui tenentur sequi et excottare<sup>a</sup> cum hominibus Abbatis de Bello scilicet de Grykes et Promhelle ad omnia que pertinent ad placita corone; eodem modo tenentes Abbatis de Bello de Grykes et de Promhelle excottabunt cum prenominais hominibus Abbatis de Ponto Roberti. Quod si mordre<sup>b</sup> vel aliquid infortunium quod pertineat ad placitum corone evenierit in terra dicti Abbatis de Ponte Roberti que sit de feodo Abbatis de Bello unde visus fieri debeat, vocetur serviens<sup>c</sup> dicti Abbatis de Bello ad faciendum visum et intersit serviens dicti Abbatis de ponte (*sic*) si voluerit. Constitutum est et ordinatum a dietis arbitris quod omnes terre de quibus controversia fuit inter dietas partes in euria domini Regis Ricardi de quibus cirographum fuit confectum in dicta euria mensurentur et habeat quilibet suam porcionem secundum tenorem ipsius cirographi omni cavillatione remota; ita tamen quod Abbas de Ponte Roberti habeat de porcione Abbatis de Bello porcionem que eum contingit pro inclusione illius marisei et Wallarum observatione secundum tenorem cartarum quas Abbas de Ponte Roberti habet de Abbate et Conventu de Bello.

Arbitratum est etiam a dietis arbitris quod Walle francate site in dominico Abbatis de Bello remaneant eidem Abbati de Bello et suis tenentibus eum pede Walle, qui erit octo pedum et dimidii in latitudine, et octo pedes remaneant ad fossatum faciendum inter dictum pedum Walle et mariseum, nisi per cartas inter ipsas partes confectas alius intervenerit consensus. Fiat eodem modo dicto Abbati de Ponte Roberti in suo dominico.

Arbitratum est etiam quod mensio fiat in cirographo inter dietas partes conficiendo de terra de Wicham et novo incluso marisei, quod Abbas &c. de Ponte Roberti et sui successores debent conservare Wallas contra mare et habere ea que ad Wallas pertinent quousque fuerint francate et postea fiat de ipsis Wallis sicut continetur in scripto inter ipsas partes confecto de predicto novo incluso. Ita quod si aliquis fuerit defectus de ipsis Wallis conservandis, dictus Abbas de Bello et successores sui possint distringere ipsum Abbatem de Ponte Roberti et suos successores secundum legem marisei, ad sufficientem ipsarum Wallarum conservationem.

<sup>a</sup> Scottare is in Du Cange as a verb, to pay scot. This seems the same word badly formed through the French escot, écot.

<sup>b</sup> "Quod si mordre inventum fuerit in aliquo loco super terram illius ecclesie Sancti Martini scilicet de Bello, in leuga, in maneriis vel in membris eorum, nullus se intromittere debet nisi abbas et monachi ejus." *Libertates Abbatis de Bello*. Dugd. Monast. iii. 243.

<sup>c</sup> The serjeant or bailiff.

Arbitratum est etiam quod Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti et successores sui debent excottare ad omnes communes guterias per quas terre ipsius Abbatis exsiccantur secundum quantitatem terrarum quas habet in ipso marisco.

Item arbitratum est quod Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti bona fide omnem diligentiam adhibeant ad perquirendam quietam clamantiam Abbati et Conventui de Bello, de terra de Wicham de Ricardo le Venur et Jacobo de Sedelescumbe videlicet infra proximam dominicam quâ cantatur "*letare Jerusalem*,"<sup>a</sup> alioquin dictus Abbas de Ponte Roberti restituat dictis Abbati et Conventui de Bello quietam clamantiam quam habet de ipsis Ricardo, Jacobo, et Petronella de Sedelescumbe. Item de consensu partium arbitratum est, quod quieti sint de convencione inter eos facta de novo marisco includendo qui jacet ante domum Radulfi de Brede versus la Chene. Dicti igitur arbitri arbitrando pronuntiaverunt quod omnia premissa firmiter et fideliter sub pena in forma compromissi superius expressa ex utraque parte perpetuis temporibus observentur, adicientes quod forma compromissi sigillis partium communita remaneat penes Abbatem de Begeham, hoc modo, quod si aliqua pars contravenerit vel dicto arbitrio stare noluerit, dictum scriptum reddatur parti arbitrio stare volenti. Dictis partibus viam precludentes quod de contencionibus ante hujus scripti confectionem inter dietas partes habitis nunquam de cetero sub pena prenominata aliquam moveant questionem. In ejus (&c.) prenominati arbitri, et tam Abbas et Conventus de Bello quam Abbas et Conventus de Ponte Roberti huic scripto in modum cirographi inter dietas partes confecto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum octava die mensis Februarii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici filii Johannis Regis vicesimo octavo.

Four seals remain.

1. The common seal of Battle Abbey, as figured in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. i. pl. lix., as a counter-seal to which is impressed the seal of the Abbat in pontificals. Fragment only.

2. The seal of Reginald, Abbat of Bayham, figured below. (The Rev. G. M. Cooper was unaware of the existence of any seal of this monastery.)

3. Antique gem in metal rim. Man with foot raised, possibly Jason. Legend—illegible.

4. Pointed oval, 1 inch long. Pelican in her piety. Legend—*PELLICANO DEL*.



SEAL OF REGINALD, ABBAT OF BAYHAM.

<sup>a</sup> Fourth Sunday in Lent.



XXIII.—*Notes on the Discovery of a Roman Villa at Holcombe, Devon.* By  
Captain JOHN SACKVILLE SWANN, F.S.A. F.G.S., in a Letter to AUGUSTUS  
W. FRANKS, Esq. *Vice-President.*

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Read February 22, 1872.

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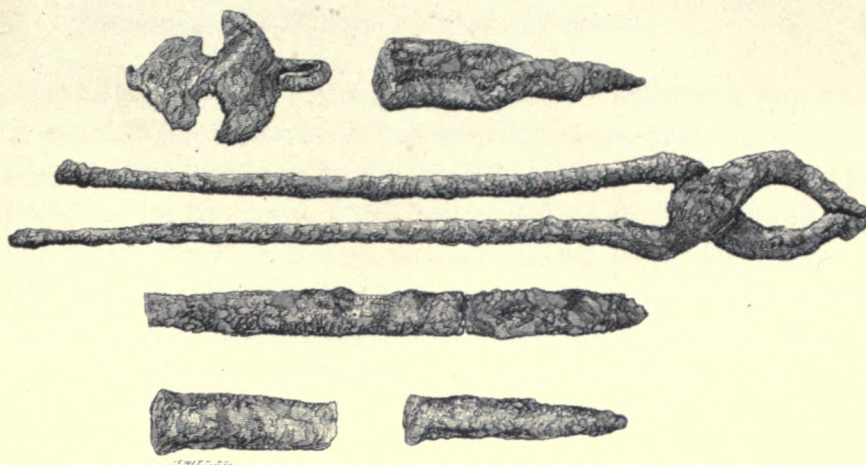
Holyshute, Honiton, 30th January, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR,

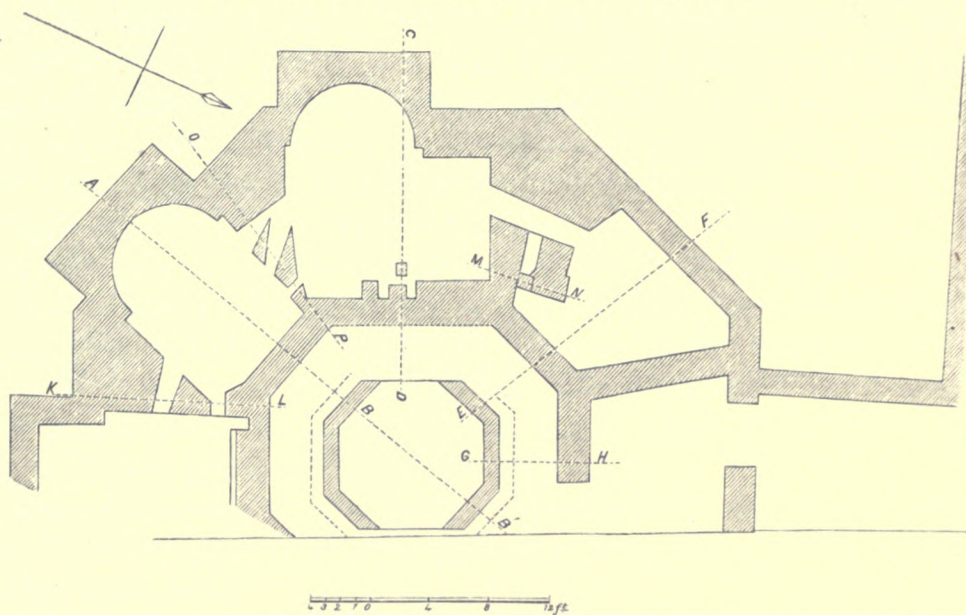
As you seem to have been interested in the Roman iron tools<sup>a</sup> found by me at Holcombe, I think perhaps that some further particulars regarding the find, and the remains of the Roman Villa which has been discovered there, may not be uninteresting to you.

In 1870 the proprietor of the farm on which the remains have been found determined to clear a copse, occupying a space about 400 feet long by 40 feet wide. In this copse a small and very perfect piece of Roman pavement was brought to light some twenty years ago, and in 1870, when the present clearance was commenced, only a few scattered tesserae remained. The work of clearing did not turn out to be so easy as was anticipated, and by this lucky accident only the northern portion was touched. My attention was drawn to this, and on visiting the spot I found enormous heaps of building-stones, roofing-stones, flue-tiles, &c., all over the place, with many small fragments of pottery, which appeared to me to be certainly Roman. The level of this copse was nearly three feet above the level of the adjoining meadows, and being all stone, roots and trunks of pollard trees, &c., the difficulty of clearing was very great, and the progress very slow. Nearly in the middle of this piece the tools to which I have alluded, with some charcoal, were found.

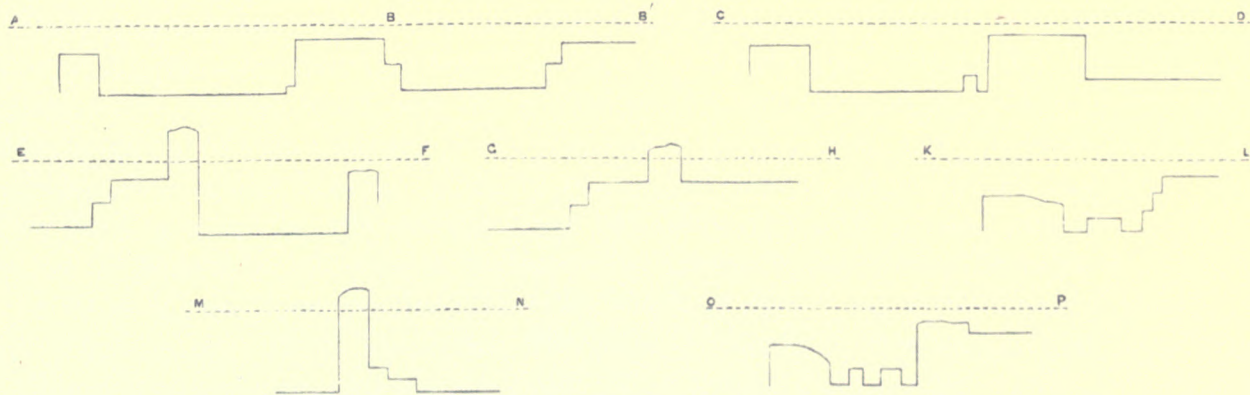
<sup>a</sup> The iron tools in question are represented in the accompanying plate, and appear all to be of Roman origin. They may be described as follows :—1. A strong pair of pincers ; length 1 ft. 8½ in.; a somewhat similar pair, from Kingsholm, near Gloucester, is preserved in the British Museum. 2. A thick quadrangular bar, broken into two pieces, and pointed at one end; length 12 in. 3, 4. Two strong wedges ; length 5 in. and 4¾ in. 5. A chisel with a pointed tang ; length 6 in. 6. One of the singular objects which have from time to time been discovered with Roman remains, and are now considered by archaeologists to be horse-shoes ; their use seems to be decisively settled by a specimen in the British Museum, to the under part of which is fixed a thin horse-shoe of the ordinary description. Some excellent figures of these strange horse-shoes have appeared in a Memoir on Roman Remains discovered in London, by J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A., published in the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (vol. iii. p. 517). Besides these objects there was found an imperfect Roman knife or *cultrum*, and another fragment.



IRON TOOLS FOUND IN THE ROMAN VILLA AT HOLCOMBE.



PLAN OF FOUNDATIONS OF ROMAN VILLA AT HOLCOMBE.



SECTIONS OF FOUNDATIONS.





From what I saw I thought that further clearing in so wholesale a way would be undesirable, for much I am sure was lost in moving away many cartloads of earth, and spreading it over neighbouring fields. I therefore persuaded the proprietor to rent me the rest of the copse at £5 per annum, and at the same time exposed a small portion of the pavement on the north side of the bath. By the way, I must not forget to say that the bath was opened about twenty years ago, and left unprotected, and is therefore not in a good state of preservation.

Last autumn I set to work for about nine weeks, and sometimes with three, but mostly only with two men, cleared out about 64 feet by 35 feet to an average depth of about 4 feet 6 inches from the existing level of the copse, uncovered about 10,080 cubic feet of stone and earth, and laid bare the foundations shown in the Plan of Foundations (Plate XXXVIII.) Owing to the extreme age of some of the pollard-ash trees our progress was very slow and work very hard; but we found the bottom of the bath without a tessera missing, as well as the pieces of pavement on north and south side of bath, and a large piece in a room which I have called N. E. Room, and is that in which the letter "H" is in the Plan of Foundations. The heaviest work was in that room or chamber through which the line E. F. passes, and here were the principal finds of bones, &c. The bones consisted (as kindly determined for me by Mr. Boyd Dawkins) of *Bos longifrons*, sheep, goat, roe-deer, pig, dog, horse, rabbit, and hare. There are also a few bones of birds and a bone or two of fox. The generality of the bones appear to have been those of flesh used for food, except those of the dog and fox, and many of them appear to have been gnawed by dogs.

Of shells there were oyster, mussel, limpet, periwinkle, and snail; the limpet shells in great abundance, as also the lower or hollow valve of the oyster. Two oysters had never been opened.

The pottery was all in fragments, of which there were very great quantities, and it is generally of black or red ware, but principally the former.

Two or three fragments of very thin glass were also found, and of such a shape as to justify the belief that they were portions of a small vessel. Quantities of nails and one key were also found, and a small piece of hard wood, I fancy ebony, which might have been the portion of a frame of a looking-glass, and one small fragment of a bronze buckle. I believe some coins were found in the vicinity some time ago; but on this occasion only two were met with, a small copper coin of the Second Constantine, and a brass coin utterly beyond all identification.

A large square stone was found in 1870, which appears to me to have been a sort of bracket or table let into a wall. Two sides are moulded. One side, I think the front, is ornamented, and the other side plain: by side I mean *edge*.



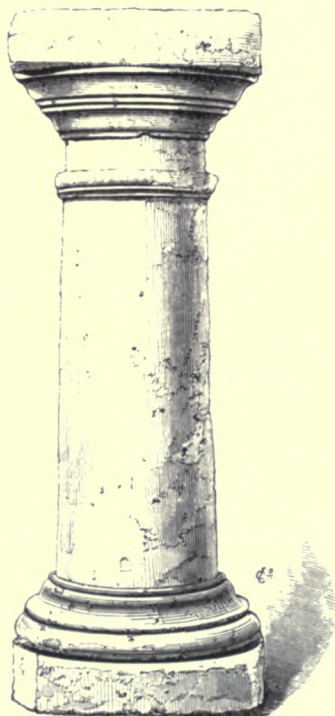
I must not omit to mention that in the chamber where the bulk of the bones, pottery, shells, &c., were found, very large quantities of charcoal were also brought to light.

I may add that I at first much doubted the octagonal hole being a bath, but had an idea it might be the impluvium; but I have discarded that idea, as the principal rooms were, I think, in the portion destroyed. The piece of pavement destroyed was, I believe, 20 feet by 15; and, judging by the enormous quantity of material removed from the portion cleared in 1870, there must have been some important part of the building to the north-east of the portions which I have excavated.

The accompanying plan and sections (see Plate XXXVIII.) will explain the details and give some idea of the nature of the excavations.

The whole appearance, as one works on, is that of buildings that have gradually decayed; and the roofing-tiles are invariably at the bottom of the *débris*, as if the roof had fallen in first in the ordinary course of decay.

I have omitted to notice a very well-preserved pillar of oolitic limestone



Pillar of Oolitic Limestone, found in Roman Villa at Holcombe, Devon.

Height, 2 feet 10 inches.



found close to the spot where the square stone or bracket, I have already mentioned, was discovered. It was in a remarkably good state of preservation, and so well finished that it gave the idea of its having been turned in a lathe rather than worked by hand.

Its total height was 2 feet 10 inches, and perhaps in its original state it may have measured 3 feet. The appearance of the stone is identical with that from the lower quarries in the island of Portland, from which place there would have been no difficulty in transporting it, but I am not able satisfactorily to establish the fact that the Portland Quarries, from which the fine-grained oolite is obtained, were worked at so early a date as the building of the Villa at Holcombe.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

JOHN S. SWANN.

A. W. FRANKS, Esq.



XXIV.—*On the Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Desborough, Northamptonshire.* By the Rev. ROBERT SIBLEY BAKER, *Rector of Hargrave.*

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Read March 30, 1876.

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I have the honour to bring to your notice some remarkable antiquities which have been discovered in the village of Desborough, Northamptonshire, in February last, while digging iron ore on the property of Mr. and Mrs. Wise, of Woodcote, Warwickshire.

Desborough is a small station on the main line of the Midland Railway, a few miles south of Market Harborough, and is a place of some antiquity, and probably was the site of the mansion of the Desborough family, once its lords.

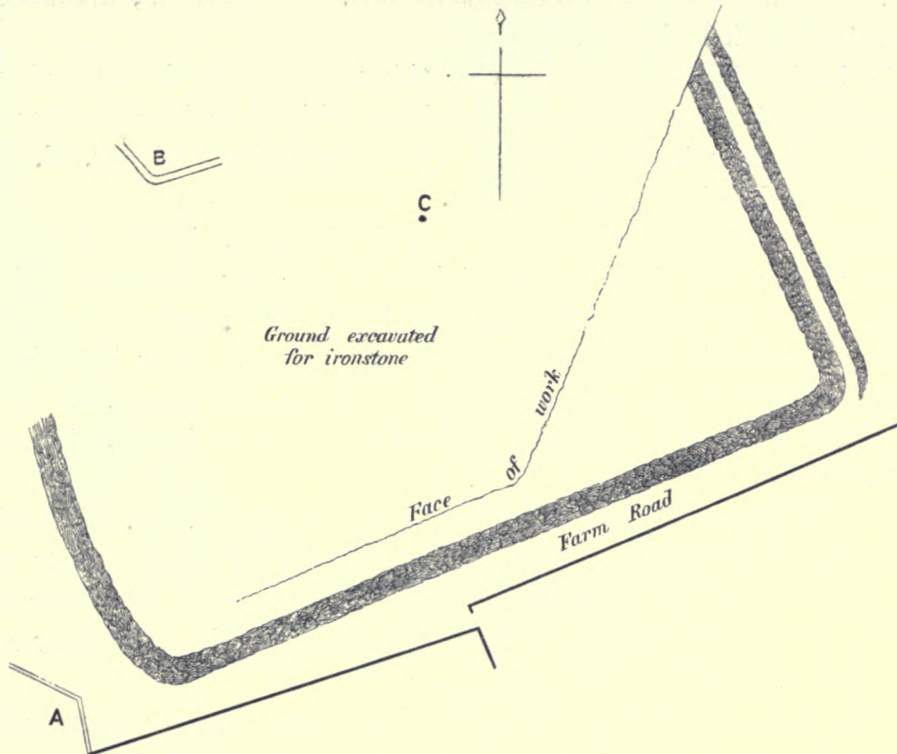
The discovery in question was made in a grass-field close to the village, about 300 yards east of the parish church, and within an area which would appear to have been an ancient encampment. A parallelogram of about four acres may be still distinctly traced by the fosses faintly furrowed in the pasture where left undisturbed by the diggers for ironstone, who will soon obliterate every vestige of it. The plan on the following page will give some idea of the spot.

Within the inclosure a number of ancient interments have been found; the bodies do not appear to have been buried in coffins, but only laid in pits sunk in the *baring*, as it is called, that is, the top soil, and three or four feet of disintegrated rock mixed with loam, which has to be removed in order to reach the ironstone rock.

The position of the graves is well marked in this *baring*, as they are filled up with black top-soil, thus appearing of a dark tint in the tawny-coloured mass. At the bottom of these dark patches the skeletons are generally found, very decayed and friable. Many of the graves are now empty, or contain but a few fragments of bone, with occasional pieces of coarse pottery and burnt stones mixed with the earth.

These sepulchral trenches are roughly made, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom, and seem invariably to run east and south-west; where there are

skeletons the feet are to the east. I should mention that in all these pits appear traces of fire, in the shape of pieces of stone burnt red, either ironstone or a kind of freestone not found in the village. In one instance, a pit (found to be empty) was lined with clay at the bottom, in which were embedded stones set edgewise, and the stones presented traces of fire. Do these signs point to a transition from cremation to inhumation? In all about sixty interments have been found in the



PLAN OF ENCAMPMENT AT DESBOROUGH. Scale 1 in. to 137 ft.

A. Parsonage Garden. B. Garden. C. Spot where Necklace was found.

inclosure. One of these I had excavated in my presence, but nothing was found excepting fragments.

In two of the graves, however, have been discovered the very remarkable objects which I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society. This I am enabled to do by the courtesy and at the wish of Mr. Hickman, Manager for the Desborough Iron Ore Company. The beautiful necklace was found in one of the graves, and the rest of the objects in another. These graves were not far distant from each other, and both contained skeletons. The discovery took place in the second week of February, 1876.



I will now proceed to describe in detail the various objects discovered, some of which are represented in the accompanying engravings.

1. A bronze saucepan-shaped vessel made of very thin metal, with a rounded bottom and a broad flat handle, expanding towards the end into a circle; the edge of the handle is flanged or strengthened by a projecting ridge like the backs of some Eastern daggers; at the back of the handle there has been a small loop and ring by which the vessel could be suspended. Depth 3 in.; diameter of bowl 10 in.; entire length 16 inches.

It will be immediately noticed that this vessel is of the same character as those found at Irchester, in Northamptonshire, which I had the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society in January last<sup>a</sup> (see Proceedings, 2d Ser. vi. 475), and which were considered to be late Roman.

2. Fragments of one of the bowls of a pair of scales. These are also of very thin bronze; two of the rings for suspension still remain; diameter,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in.

Weights and scales have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, for instance, at Gilton, Kent, grave No. 66 of the Faussett Collection. Here both bowls were discovered, and the greater part of the bar; the weights were worn-out Roman coins, on which the Saxon goldsmith had made marks to indicate the weight of the pieces.<sup>b</sup>

3. A spoon of base silver or white metal; length,  $6\frac{1}{10}$  in. (Pl. XXXIX.) Both extremities are imperfect; the lower part of the stem where it meets the bowl has a singular expansion, suggested perhaps by the form of late Roman spoons, although the ornament (such as it is) on the upper end does not show any mark of classic design.

Although spoons have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, they have rarely occurred, and these have generally had large bowls with small piercings in them; such is the spoon from Chartham, in Kent, now in the Ashmolean Museum, engraved in Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. ii. fig. 9, and in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxii.; and another from Stodmarsh, Kent, now in the British Museum, engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. pl. xvi. fig. 5.

4. A hinge or clasp of a white metal similar to the spoon (Pl. XXXIX.), with engraved ornaments of a Teutonic character consisting of interlacing bands; on each portion are three prominent rivets; length  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. In this particular it resembles the plates of buckles both in England and on the Continent. See for

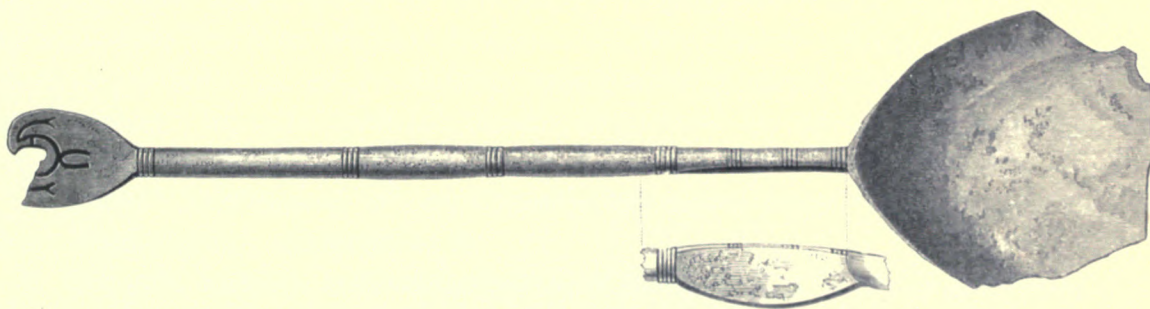
<sup>a</sup> An account of these with engravings has been published in the Transactions of the Northamptonshire Architectural Society. (*Associated Societies' Reports and Papers*, xiii. pl. 1, p. 39.)

<sup>b</sup> Roach Smith, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 22, pl. xvii.



CLASP, DESBOROUGH.

GOLD NECKLACE FOUND AT DESBOROUGH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. (Full size.)



SPOON FOUND AT DESBOROUGH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. (Full size.)







instance for the former *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. viii. and ix. and for the latter, Baudot, *Sépultures des Barbares en Bourgogne*, pl. ix.

5. A bronze pin, broken into three pieces; present length,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

6. A flat iron bar with a projection on each side; length,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. Also a pointed end of some instrument.



ANGLO-SAXON GLASS CUP.

7. A bowl-shaped vase of amber-coloured glass (see woodcut). Height  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in. diameter  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. This has the peculiarity so often observable in Anglo-Saxon drinking-glasses that from the form of the base it will not stand, which it has been suggested spoke much for the toping propensities of the Anglo-Saxons. The same form has been found at Kingston and Sibertswold in Kent. (See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xix.). Thinner examples of the same form are found on the Continent. (See, for instance, Baudot, *Sépultures des Barbares*, pl. xxi. figs. 3, 4, 6.)

8. A small bowl-shaped vase of a deep amber colour, rather more conical in form; height  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in.; diameter  $4\frac{1}{4}$  in.

9. The gold necklace is the finest and most interesting of the relics disinterred. It lay in disconnected pieces near the head of the skeleton, and consists at present of thirty-seven portions, viz. seventeen barrel-shaped or rather double-cone-



shaped beads, slightly varying in size, made of spirally-coiled gold wire. Two cylindrical beads of similar make, which may have been connected with the clasps. Nine circular pendants of gold, convex on one face and flat on the other, and with loops by which they could be strung; five of these are beaded round the edges, the others are plain. Eight gold pendants of various shapes and sizes, set with garnets, with delicately-worked loops for suspension. They vary considerably in form, as may be seen in the engraving (Pl. XXXIX.); the edges are beaded and the backs plain. Lastly, a gold cross, which formed, no doubt, the central ornament of the necklace, as we have represented it. The body is formed of two cylinders of gold, and at the intersections is set a small garnet surrounded by beaded work; the other side had a similar ornament now wanting.

Objects of this nature have been occasionally found in England, though never, as far as I am aware, in so complete a state. Portions of such a necklace were found in a barrow on Roundway Down, near Devizes, Wilts, and were exhibited to this Society in December, 1843.<sup>a</sup> They consisted of four barrel-shaped beads like ours, but smaller, four pendants set with single garnets and two with vitrified pastes; one of the latter, the largest discovered, was triangular in form. With these objects was a chain with central ornament, and a pin at each end. The whole are engraved in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. i. It may be mentioned that with these objects was discovered a small bucket or pail, with wooden staves, of the kind so frequently found in Anglo-Saxon graves, and which had the usual triangular ornaments of bronze.

Another was found by Mr. Thomas Bateman in a tumulus called Galley or Callidge Lowe, in Derbyshire. Here were twelve barrel-shaped beads, to all but one of which were attached pendent garnets set in gold; there were also two circular pendants with convex faces like ours. A coloured engraving of this necklace has appeared in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xl. See also Bateman's *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 37.

The preservation of the gold necklace which I have described is due to Mr. Hickman, who happened by mere accident to come up at the very moment of the discovery, and found the men scrambling for the prize, of which each had got some portions. Perceiving the interest of the find, he induced the men to give up their various shares by telling them that the ornament was worth more as a whole than in separate pieces, and that he would take care that each man received his share of the proceeds.

Whether any portions were after all kept back, or whether any portions were

<sup>a</sup> *Proc. S. A.* vol. i. p. 12.

removed with the barrows of earth before the precious fragments were noticed, we cannot tell. But for Mr. Hickman's fortunate presence the Society would not have had the opportunity of admiring this beautiful object.

I should not omit to mention that in another part of the same village many interments were discovered in 1865 accompanied by articles in bronze, but for want of any one to take an interest in them the relics were sold by the men and dispersed.

This, I fear, is the daily fate of many objects of interest and value, which if preserved would have thrown light on the history and antiquities of our country.

NOTE.—It should be stated that these interesting objects have since been acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum for the Collection of National Antiquities.

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Page 326: It should have been stated that the list of objects found in the tomb of Richard II. was prepared by George Scharf, Esq. F.S.A.

Page 393, Note : *For " p. 37 " read " cap. 37. "*

Page 403, line 12 : *For " three " read " two. "* The passage should stand as follows :—

" They appear to be of silken material, woven into twelfth century patterns, and enriched with gold. This has been laid on the thread before weaving, in at least two different ways. In the two specimens shewn in the plate, the threads have apparently been gilt by applying gold-leaf with some adhesive material. In some very small fragments, strips of gold are twisted round the threads, which have partly decayed and left the solid gold in spiral form. A beautifully preserved stole of about A.D. 1200, in the possession of W. H. D. Longstaffe, Esq., of Gateshead, is ornamented from end to end with labyrinthine patterns in lozenges about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, the groundwork between them being entirely overlaid with gold thread made by the latter process."



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